

16.
**A IVST AND
TEMPERATE DE-
FENCE OF THE FIVE BOOKS
OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLICIE:**

WRITTEN BY M. RICHARD

HOOKE

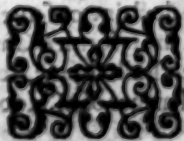
**Against an vncharitable Letter of certain English Pro-
testants (as they tearme themselves) crauing reso-
lution, in some matters of doctrine, which
seeme to overthrow the foundation
of religion, and the Church
amongst vs.**

*Written by WILLIAM COVEL Doctor in
Divinitie, and published by authority.*

The contents whereof are in
the page following.

Psalm. 111. 6.

The righteous shall be had in an everlasting remembrance.



AT LONDON

**Printed by P. SHORT for CLEMENT KNIGHT,
dwelling at the signe of the holy Lambe in
Paules church-yard. 1603.**

The Articles handled in this Booke.

- 1 Of the Deity of the Sonne of God.
- 2 Of the coeternitie of the Sonne, and the proceeding of the holy Ghost.
- 3 Whether the holy Scriptures containe all things necessary to saluation.
- 4 Whether the Scriptures be about the Church?
- 5 Of the nature and freedome of mans will.
- 6 Of the vse of faith and good works.
- 7 Whether God allow more then he commandeth.
- 8 Of the vertue of good works.
- 9 None free from euery sinne, how from all?
- 10 Of Predestination.
- 11 Whether the Church of Rome be any part of the visible Church?
- 12 Of Preaching and Sermons.
- 13 Of the Ministers office.
- 14 Of the nature of the Sacraments.
- 15 Of Christs institution of the Sacraments.
- 16 Of the necessitie of Baptisme.
- 17 Of Transubstantiation.
- 18 Of speculatiue doctrine, or sentences mistaken.
- 19 Of Caluin and the reformed Churches.
- 20 Of Schoolemen, Philosophie, Reason, &c.
- 21 Of the stile and maner of M. Hookers writing.

Printed by I. Smith at the signe of the three Kings in St. Dunstons Church Lane. 1633.

TO THE MOST REVEREND

Father in God, my verie good Lord,

*the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie his**Grace, Primate, and Metropo-**litan of all England.*

Three principall causes (Right Reuerend) haue moued me to offer this small Labour to your Graces view: First, the iust respect of my particular dutie, which challengeth al parts of my labor, as a most thankfull acknowledgement of that service which I owe vnto you. Secondly, the forme of our Church gouernment, which imposeth a submitting of our labours, to the censure and allowance of those, to whom by right that charge belongeth; wherein seeing your authoritie and care, next vnto our dread Soueraigne, is, and is to bee esteemed greatest, I desire you to vouchsafe to giue that allowance, which your Grace in your wisdom shall thinke fit. The last reason, is the person of him, who (whilest he liued) was aduanced, honoured, and esteemed by you; and now being dead, his learning, and sinceritie, against the false accusations of others, challengeth a defence at your Graces

THE EPISTLE.

hand: For doubtlesse it is more right to vertue, to defend the deceased, then to aduance those that are liuing. This as reason, euer expecteth at the hands of vertue; so especially then, when men of worth, of desert, of learning, are mistaken and accused, by those that doe want all. I craue to the rest of all your Graces fauours, that this last may be added; That whatsoeuer my imperfections are, in this iust and temperate Defence, they may no way diminish the honourable remembrance of him, whom I doe defend: all allowance is his due; the faults are mine; for which in all humilitie, I craue pardon,

*Your Graces to bee com-
maunded,*

W. COVEL.



TO THE READER.



Being we are all bound in the dutifull respect of a common iust cause, euen to defend those who are strangers to vs; it cannot seeme vnfit to any, if we afford the so much fauour, whose persons, and deserts are verie well knowne. There is no better contentment for our labour past, then in the assurance from our conscience, that it is well employed: for doubtlesse the spurning at vertue, giueth a greater stroke to the doer, then to him that suffereth; yet euen that religion, that comāndeth patience, forbiddeth not the iust defence of our selues in a good cause; especially then, when by wrangling a particular man, there may be some hazard of the truth it selfe. Our Church hath had some enemies, more openly discontent in the case of Discipline, then they now appeare; whom to satisfie with reason, Maister Hooker indureth with much paines; that which might haue contented all, was in diuers, a spurre to a more violent choler: for medicines how profuable soeuer, worke not equally in all humours. From hence proceeded a desire in some, to make question of things, whereof there was no doubt, and a request for resolution, of some points, wherein there was no danger: to this end a Letter (which heere is answered) was published by certaine Protestants (as they terme themselves) which I heare (how true I know not) is translated into other tongues; this they presume hath giuen that wound, to that reuerend and learned man, that it was not the least cause to procure his death. But it is farre otherwise, for he contemned it in his wisdom (as it was fit) and yet in his humilitie would haue answered it, if he had liued. Surely for mine owne part, I neuer thought it conuenient

To the Reader.

10b.31. *nient that the gravity of this present businesse, and the reverend
 worthinesse of him that is accused, should nor be answered with
 gravitie both of person and speech; and my witnesses are both in
 heauen and earth how iustly I can excuse my selfe, as Elihu did:
 Behold, I did wait vpon the word of the ancient, and hat-
 tened for their knowledge: I stayd the time, and a long
 time, untill some elder and of riper iudgement, might haue ac-
 quited me from all opinion of presumption in this cause; which
 being not done by the, whom many reasons might haue inducd
 to this Defence, I could not for that part which I beare in that
 Church, whose government was defended by Maister Hooker,
 with patience endure so weake a Letter and longer to remaine
 vnanswered. And herein I haue dealt as with men (although to
 me vnknown) of some learning and gravitie, to whom persua-
 sion in maner of speeche I am farre inferior; and yet for anie
 thing that I know, or appeareth in this Letter, they may bee cla-
 shed with the same infirmities that I am. But if this had bene
 by himselfe performed (which I beare he hath done, and I desire
 thee to expect it) thy satisfaction (gentle Reader) would
 haue bene much more, yet vouchsafe in thy kinnesse, so accept
 this.*





The Authours Preface.

Little hath labour done, to make any man excellent, if vertue haue not as much power to make it continue: neither were it anie honour, to deserue well, if our memories might die with our names: for our names be buried, as often as malice, or enuie doth seeke to hide them. Fewe things are eminently good, which are indured amongst distempered iudgements without bitter reprehension; for where weaknesse hath not strength enough to imitate, and reuerence that vertue which it feareth; it hath violence and malice sufficient to detract from that vertue which it hateth. Amongst euill persons, as there be fewe things that are good, in themselves; so there be not manie things which they are willing should appeare good in others; for vertue, where it is not followed, must either be dispraised, or our negligence shall want excuse. And whatsoever hath the power to conuince, must suffer reproofe, where the heart of man wanteth humilitie to giue obedience. The worlds greatest errour, is in esteeming, when our corruptions making vs ambitious to seeme, whilst we are carelesse to be, winneth allowance from a fond opinion, which the streame of violent fancies, denieth to rest vpon those that are truly vertuous. Because for anie man to oppose himselfe, against that euill which is growne heady, either by custome, or patience, is to hazard much of himselfe, if he be strong; and in the opinion of many vndoubtedly to perish, if he be weak. And therefore as vice hath

with no greater force, or vertue, but a hote breath. But seeing the reputation that vertue challengeth, and industrious labour seasoned with discretion doth merit, seeketh rather to gaine an approbation, from the iudgement of the wise, then recompence or reward, from the mightie hand of the rich; men of vertuous desert in all ages (euen from the lowest step of humilitie & obedience) haue with confidence, and truth, taught the world a far better iudgment, by their wise apologies; and haue gained as much honour in remouing euill, as they haue gotten vertue vnto their names, in doing wel. The malice of enuie out of impatient ignorance, doing vertue this benefite, that that which was cleare before, by a few, light, trifling spots, gaineth a wiping, to make it clearer. *desert* and *goodnesse*, being effects of a first motion; *perfection* and *excellence* the worke of a second maker. It must needs seeme strange to many, and be vnpleasing to all, that are of any sober, indifferent, or vertuous disposition, that the iust defence of a present, religious, *Ecclesiasticall policie*, yndertaken without bitterness of spirit, in a graue moderation to reforme presumption, and informe ignorance, should so farre taste, of the eagernes of some vnlearned penne; that iudgement, should be thought too weake, to answer idle wordes; or vertue not strong enough to withstand malice; or lastly, that he could want a defence, whose endeuour (as himselfe professeth) was not so much to ouerthrow them, with whom he contended, as to yeeld them iust, and reasonable causes, of those things, which for want of due consideration, heretofore they haue misconceiued; sometimes accusing lawes, for mens ouersights; sometimes imputing euils growne, through personall defects, to that which is not euill; framing to some sores vnwholsome plaisters; and applying remedies sometimes where no sores were. It is much easier to answer those shadowes of reason, wherein these *Admonishers* do please themselves; then by their silence to make them confesse, that they are fully answered. For as they know not (for the most part) well how

to speake, sauing only tinkers musick, like sounding brasse, because they want charitie; so do they lesse know how to hold their peace, like clamorous Frogs, because they want humilitie. Holy pretences haue euer bene the strongest motiues that pride hath; and Zeale, how preposterous and ignorant soeuer, hath bene deemed reason sufficient to some men, in the opinion of their followers, to warrant & defend whatsoeuer they haue done. Vpon this ground, was published, some few Articles in manner of a letter, in the yeare 1599. requiring resolution in matters of doctrine, concerning some points, which either they misconceiue, or list not to vnderstand, vttered by M. Hooker, in those siue learned, and graue books of *Ecclesiasticall policie*; wherein, it must needs appeare, that their ignorant malice, hath done him great honour; who in an argument so distastefull by them, and comming with a proud confidence to reprehend, haue only carped sillily, at some few things, neither of moment, nor importance, wherof humilitie, and charitie, would haue craued no answer. But these being willing, and desirous, to find somewhat to oppose, haue onely discovered, his great, mature, and graue iudgement, and their owne small, vndigested, and shallow learning. For there is nothing, that can better, both excuse, and commend a workman, the to see enuie desirous to reprehend, and reprehension to vanish in his owne smoke. For (saith the Wiseman) * all such as regarded not wisdome, had not onely this hurt, that they knew not the things that were good, but also left behind them, vnto men a memoriall of their foolishnesse; so that in the things wherein they sinned, they could not lie hid; yet the people see and vnderstand it not, and consider no such things, in their hearts, * how that grace and mercie is vpon his Saints, and his prouidence ouer the elect. For as he himselfe well noted; as to the best, and wisest (while they liue) the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious obseruer of their defects, and imperfections; so their vertues, it afterwards as much admireth. Those, whom we must make aduersaries

* Wisd. 10. 8.

Wisd. 4. 15.

versaries in this cause, are men, not knowne either by name, religion or learning; yet such as would seem, in zeale to the present state, to desire a resolution in some points that might otherwise giue offence. It may be peradventure the worke of some one, who desires to gaine an opinion amongst his followers, vndertaketh to speake as from the minds of many, hoping those demaunds (how idle soeuer) will gaine answer, being to satisfie a multitude, which no doubt *M. Hooker* in his wisdom, patience, and grauity, would easily haue contemned, if they had but bene the priuate cauls, and obiections of some one. For there is no man but thinketh, *man*, how light soeuer, in themselves, being vnited, may haue that weight, to challenge euen by a ciuill right, a direct answer, from one euerie way farre better then had bene fitting, for their modestie, & weaknesse to prouoke. Well; whosoeuer they are, as I cannot easily coniecture, so I am not curious to knowe; this age hath afforded an infinite number, whom superstitious feare, for want of true vnderstanding, and an ignorant zeale, not directed with discretion, haue made violent in matters of Religion, vsing the razor in steed of a knife, and for hatred of tares oftentimes pulling vp good come. But with these we will deale, with that temperate moderation, as may serue, to giue true worthinesse, a iust defence; and impatient and furious spirits (vnlesse desperately violent) no iust cause to find themselves to be grieved with vs.

This which wee are to answer, is learned by them, *A Christian letter of certaine English Protestants, vsing the same words of the present state of religion, authorized, and professed in England; vnto that reuerend, and learned man, M. Richard Hooker.* Thus the humilitie, and mild temper of their superscription, may peradventure gaine the reading at some mens hands, through an opinion, that *Protestants*; and *man*; and in a *Christian letter*; would hardly be caried with violence so far, to make demaunds, seasoned with so little modestie, learning, or vnderstanding. These men, they may be (as we take the word largely) *Protestants* for anie

The title of the
Booke.

thing that I know; that is, men outwardly of the Christian religion; who live and profess a doctrine, for the most part opposite to the Church of Rome; but I can hardly be perswaded, that the Letter being wholly an unciuill Ironie, is either *Christian*, or that themselves, are vnfaired fauourers of the present state of religion; or that they thinke *M. Hooker* to be either reuerend, or learned in their opinions. For whatsoever they may pretend, in vrging the reuerend *Bishops* of our Church against his assertions; as though they ascribed much vnto them; yet their desire is, to make an opposition appeare, and in that shewe of contradiction, to make themselves sport, & in the end proudly and maliciously to contemne both. But Saint *James* telleth these, that *if any man seeme religious, and restraine not his tongue, but deceiue his owne heart, this mans religion is vain.* And in this I appeale to the censure of the most modest and discreet amongst themselves, by what shew of reason, they could tearme that Letter to bee Christian, wherein were contained so many vnseasoned and intemperate speeches; or that man to be either reuerend, or learned, whom they haue vsed with so little respect, and accused of so many defects? But doubtlesse, as they neuer thought him to be either reuerend, or learned (whom all that knew him, whilest he liued knew to be both) so they little desired, that their Letter should be such a one, as might worthily be accounted *Christian*. * Else what meane these accusations, to account his goodly promises, meere formall, and great offers to serue only, to hoodwink such, as mean well; as though by excellency of words, and intising speeches, of mans wisdom, he ment^e as they say to beguile, and bewitch the *Church*, of God. A little after^e they call him a goodly *Champion*, and by this sweet sound, of your melodious stile, almost cast into a dreaming sleepe; which stile notwithstanding afterwards, they account not^e vsual, but long, and tedious; far differing from the simplicity of holy scripture; and a^t hard, and harsh stile: for the manner of the stile, we shall make our defence, when we answer^e that

* in the Letter
Pag. 1.

* Ibid.
* pag. 2.

* Pag. 45.

* Pag. 3. Lin. 10

that Article. But in that, you scoffingly account him a goodly *Champion*, giue me leaue to tell you, that if our *Church* were thoroughly furnished with such men, the holy function of our calling, had not growne in contempt by ignorant and vlearned ministers; our peace had not bin troubled with furious and violent spirits: worldly men, had not seized vpon the *Church*, with such eagernes, through an opinion of the vnworthines of the clergie: they of the *Church* of *Rome*, had not thus long remained obstinate, through the violent proceedings of vndiscreet men, whose remedies were worse then the disease it selfe: nor last of all, the generall amendment of life (the fruite of our preaching) had not bin so small, if these turbulent heads, had not more desired, to make *Hypocrites*, then truly religious. It is much safer to praise the dead, then the liuing, hauing seene the period of their dayes expired: when neither he that is praised, can be puffd vp; nor he that doth praise can be thought to flatter. hee was, as Saint *Austine* sayd of Saint *Cyprian*, of such desert, of such a courage, of such a grace, of such a vertue, that as *Theodosius* sayd of *S. Ambrose*, I haue known *Ambrose*, who alone is worthy to be called a Bishop, of whom I dare giue that iudgement (though he were in true estimation great already) which *Antiquus* gaue of *Parthius*, that he would haue bin a very great man, if he had bin old. Great in his owne vertues, of great vse in the *Church*, & in all apparence, (though these times be vnthankfull) of great authority. I let passe those other tearmes, which show your letter to bee vnchristian: vnill we come to their particular answers; and thus much for the title.

It hath bin, no new thing in all ages, that reprehension hath waited vpon those books, which zeale from a virtuous minde, hath written to support the truth, for the nature of man is much apter to reprove others, then reforme it selfe: seeing to see faults in others, is an act of the understanding if they bee; and of a forwardnes of the will if they be not: but to rectifie them in our selves must be the worke

*Quando nec
laudantur me-
ret adulation, nec
laudatum tentat
elatio.*

*Tanti meriti,
tanti postuli,
tanti oris, tante
virtutis.*

The preface of
the letter is
sweard: when
men dream
they are a thing
see the world
as it is

17^a argues: a
non sit propter
quod alio accu-
sant has ipsas o-
disse. Dio. Cass.
lib. 36. hist.
Epist. ad Afel-
lam virg. in pro-
log. super Ios.

* Nicephor. Ca.
lixus lib. 10.
lib. 36.

In obit. Hann-
verii. Ber.
* Nihil ex ea
quod meum di-
rector prater
cognomen retuli.
Val. Max.

worke of a cleare vnderstanding and a reformed will; there-
fore vsually men practise themselves, what they punish
in others; so that no man can directly conclude, that all
men hate what they do accuse. Therefore Saint *Hierom*,
of whome saith S. *Austin* (no man knew that whereof S.
Hierom was ignorant) oftentimes complaineth of the de-
tractions, slaunders, and vntrue accusations of euill men.
These, for the most part, are vnstaid, violently caried with
the current of the present time, sometimes bitterly either
vpon discontentments, or to please others, inueighing
against those, whom themselves before out of flattery,
not *iudgement*, haue highly praised. Thus *Libanius* the so-
phister, who was eloquent against the *Christians*, to please
Julian, was noted with this marke of leuicy, for writing
Panegyricks, orations of praise, to commend *Constan-
tine*, while he liued, against whome afterward he wrote
most bitter inuectiues when he was dead. Thus some small
discontentment serued to turne the heart, and open the
mouth of *Porphyry* against the *Christians*: what cause of
griefe these zealous professours haue I know not, but in
my opinion, the whole tenor of that vncharitable and vn-
christian letter, argueth some inward discontent, either
enuious that other men should be excellent, or that them-
selves being excellent, are not more regarded. Wherein
though they dislike, the discipline of gouernment, that lo-
keth not cleerely into mens vertues, and the niggardly
hand, that doth not bountifully reward such, as deserve
well; yet they might out of patience, and charity, wor-
thily haue forborne, to haue inueied against his honour,
which consisted in no other wealth, but in his religious
contentment; and in that true commendation, which
was the due merit of his own vertues. For the world had
not much to take from him, because hee had not taken
much from the world; for he neuer affected, flatteringly
to please her, nor she neuer cared fawninglie to please him.
For as all that *Scipio* brought, from *Africa*, after his
danger, and trauell, to be called his, was only a Surname;

so the greatest recompense, that his labours had, was the iust commendation, that he was a very reuerend, learned and graue man. For his iudgement taught him out of a Christian patience, the resolution of *Cato*, if I haue anie thing to vse, I vse it; if not, I know who I am. And seeking to profit in knowledge, and that this knowledge might profit the Church; he shewed that hee was borne for the good of many, and few to bee borne for the good of him. For as *S. Hieron* speaketh of *Nepotian*, despising gold, he followed learning, the greatest riches. But peradventure his learning had putt him vp; and his pride had made his writings, impatient, and full of bitterness; and this moued you, to vndertake, this vncharitable and vnchristian letter; for you say if we beleue them (meaning the Bishops) we must thinke, that Master *Hooker* is verie arrogant, and presumptuous, to make himselfe the onely *Rabbi*. That you had no cause, to prouoke him, in these rearmes, all men know that do reade his writings; for dealing in an argument of that kinde, with aduersaries, of that nature; and in a time growne insolent by sufferance; hee hath written with that temperat moderation, rather like a graue father to reforme the vnstayed errors, of hot, young, violent spirits, then seuerely correcting them with the vttemperat bitterness of their owne stile; and fighting at the scurrilous and more then satyricall immodesty of *Martinisme*, he feared with a true sorrow, least that honourable calling of Priesthood, which was ruinated by slaunder amongst ourselues, could not long continue firme in the opinion of others. Well, for all this the gouernment of his passions, was in his owne power, as *Saint Bernard* speaketh of *Malachie* the Bishop. And he was able to rule them; for he was truly of a milde spirit, and an humble hart, and abounding in all other vertues; yet he specially excelled in the grace of meekenes: for the grauity of his looks, as *Saint Bernard* speaketh of *Humbert*, was cleered by those that did sit, or conuersed with him; least he should be burdensome vnto them; but a full laughter, few euer discerned in him. Some such our Church hath

*Si quid est quod
vult, utrumque
est sum.*

*Nepotianus
voster auris cal-
cans, sed vultus
confectus.*

Page. 19. line. 16

*Leg. Carol. mag.
fol. 421.*

*Ita elix in ma-
nu eius. Ber.*

*Seuerus et vultu
suum affe-
ditum gratia po-
tentes emersas,
sed vultum inu-
erum si bene re-
colit is non adu-
su. Ber.*

Eccl. 44. 7. 8.
verf. 11. 12. 13.
24. 15.

Page 1.

hath had in all ages; a few now aliue, which are her ornament, if ſhee can vie them well; but moe that are dead, whome ſhe ought to praife. For *all thoſe *were honorablemen, in their generations*, and were well reported of, in their times; there are of them, that haue left a name behind them, ſo that their praife ſhall be ſpoken of, for whoſe poſterity, a good inheritance is reſerued, and their ſeede is contained in the covenant; their bodie are buried in peace, but their name liueth for euermore; the people ſpeake of their wiſedome, and the congregation talke of their praife. In this number vertue hath placed him, whom you accuſe; and are not afraid, being now awaked out of a dreame, to account a deceiuer. As though in his labours he had meant by inticing ſpeech, to deceiue the *Church*; or as though by a colourable deſe of the *Church* diſcipline, he purpoſed (as you ſay) to make questionable, and to bring in contempt the doctrine, and faith it ſelfe; beaſting againſt the heart of all true Chriſtian doctrine, profeſſed by her *Maieſty*, and the whole ſtate of this realme. Therefore you haue made choice of the principall things contained in his bookes; wiſhing him to free himſelfe from all ſuſpicion of falſhoode and trechery; accounting your ſelues to reſt contented, if he will ſhew himſelfe, either all one in iudgement, with the Church of England, or elſe freely and ingenuouſly acknowledge; his vnwilling ouerſight; or at the leaſt ſhew plainly by good demonſtratio, that al our reuerend Fathers haue hitherto bin deceiued. To this you craue a charitable, direct, plaine, ſincere, and ſpeedy anſwere; this is the ſumme of the preface to your Chriſtian letter. It is too true that al ages haue had deceiuers; and that the moſt dangerous deceiuers, haue ſtrongly preuailed vnder pretence of Religion; and therefore whereas all bodies are ſubiect to diſſolution, there are vndoubtedly moe ſtates overthrowen, through diſeaſes within themſelues, which familiarly do ſcale vpon them, then through violence from abroad. Becauſe the manner is alwaies, to caſt a doubtfull, and a more ſuſpicious eie, towards

wards that, ouer which men know they haue least power; & therfore the feare of apparant dangers, causeth their forces to be more vnited; it is to all sorts a kind of bridle; it maketh vertuous minds watchful; it holdeth contrary dispositions in suspence; and imployeth the power of all wits; and the wits of all men, with a greater care. Whereas deceits couered with good pretences, are so willingly interteyned, so little feared, & so long suffered, vntill their cruelty burst forth, when it is too late, to cure them. vice hath not a better meanes to disperse it selfe, nor to gaine intartainment, and fauour, then by borrowing the counterfeited name, and habit, of seeming vertue. Thus that rebellious *Sandracot* vnder pretence of liberty, mooued the Indians, against the officers of *Alexander* the Great; which when they had slaine, he that was the author of their liberty, turned that into a more cruell bondage, oppressing the people whom he had freed from strangers, vnder the cruell tyranny of his owne gouernment. But of all deceits, there is none more dangerous, then when the name of God, or religion is pretended, to countenance out heinous crimes. And howsoeuer euen in this kinde, this age hath not wanted examples, who being dangerous vnder holy ptesenses, the hand of Iustice hath cut off; yet the imputation of this fault, can in no reason cleaue to him, who hath so far hazarded himselfe, for the iust defence of religion, and Church gouernement. If hee had broched any new fancies, or proudly opposed the wise established discipline; there had bin some reason to haue suspected, that by intising speech he had meant to deceiue the Church. But seeing hee hath laboured in a waighy cause, with reasons, against those, whom the Magistrates severity could not easily suppress; seeing he hath vnderaken it by appointment; and performed it with allowance; and seeing he hath made no other shew of supporting popery, but only by resisting Puritans; the slander must needs be too light, and the accusation without color, to say, that he hath beaten against the heart of a true

*Iustin. lib. 19.
ex Trogo.*

Sixt Sin. lib. 4.
bibliotheca.

Epiplanius in
3. pammarii.

Christian doctrine, professed by her Maiestie, & the whole
state of this Realme: as though (which you desire the
world might belecue) the hart of Christian religion, were
only amongst such, whom the affectation of singularity
hath tearmed by the name of *Puritans*: And that the rest
who are not of that temper, are dangerous, and close he-
reticks. Thus *Appollinaris* the yonger, who wrote so much
in defence of the Christian faith, that Saint *Basil* said of
him, that with his volumes he had filled the whole world;
and wrote against rauiing and frantick *Porphyry*, thirty
bookes, more excellent then any other of his workes; was
afterward accused that he held the error of the *Millemar-
ries*, that into the trinity he had brought, Great, greater,
and greatest of all; that he thought not right of the incar-
nation of Christ: but seeing *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexan-
dria*, who was an enemy vnto him, & diuers other Authors
besides, report that he was vehement, to confute the *Arri-
ans*, *Eunomians*, *Origenists*, and many other hereticks, in
many volumes, it may be thought whatsoeuer his other
errors were, the malice of his aduersaries had forged
this, to diminish the authority of those bookes, which
bee had written against them: So that this practise is no
new thing, to diminish the soundnes of their religion,
whose iudgements, and reasons we are vnable to with-
stand. But I doubt not by that which followeth, but
it shall easily bee made to appeare, that he is of the same
iudgement with the Church of *England*; that he hath not
committed any oversight; nor that he goeth not about to
contradiet, the reuerend fathers of our Church; which
things (in all likelihood) are matters by al you much de-
sired; and therefore I hope you will accept (as you desire)
this charitable, direct, plaine, and sincere answer; which
no doubt of it, from himselfe had bin far more learmed
and more speedy, if he could either haue resolved to haue
don it, or after he had resolved could haue liued, to haue
seene it finished. But first of all, he was loth to enter-
meddle with so weake aduersaries; thinking it vnfit (as
himselfe

himselfe said) that a man that hath a long Iourney, should
turne backe to beate euerie barking curre; and hauing ta-
ken it in hand, his vrgent and greater affaires, together
with the want of strength, weakened with much labour,
would not giue him time to see it finished. Yet his mind
was stronger then his yeares, and knew not well how to
yeeld to infirmitie. Wherein if hee had, some what fa-
uoured himselfe, he might peraduenture, haue liued to
haue answered you; to the benefite of the Church,
and the comfort of a great number. But death hath
done what hee could; it hath killed his bodie, and it is
laid vp in the heart of the earth; it hath taken from vs,
and from the Church of God, a sweete friend, a wise coun-
sellour, and a strong Champion: so that I may say, as it
was sometimes said of *Demosthenes*: *Demosthenes* is meete
for Athens, *Demades* ouergreat. Others fit enough to
liue in the midst of error, vanitie, vnthankfulnesse, and
deceit, but hee too good. For he was as the morning
starre, in the midst of a cloud, and as the Moone when
it is full; and as the Sunne shining vpon the Temple of
the most High, and as the rainebowe that is bright in
the faire cloudes; when he put on the garment of ho-
nour, and was clothed with all beautie, hee went vp to
the holy Altar; and made the garment of holinesse ho-
nourable. But this ought to content vs, that the soules
of the righteous, are in the hand of God, and no torment
shall touch them: In the sight of the vnwise they appea-
red to die, and their end was thought grievous, and their
departing from vs destruction, but they are in peace.

*Erant animus
villor amorum,
& cedere infir-
mitatibus
Ber. In vita
Humber. ii.*

*Mors fecit
quantum potuit,
occidit carnem,
& ecce recondita
est in corde ter-
re. separavit a
nobis dukam a-
mum, prudens
Consiliarium,
Auxilium for-
tem. Ber.*

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Eccles. 50. 6. 7.

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Wic. 1. 3. 3.

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ARTICLE I.

Of the Deity of the Sonne of God.



L points in Diuinitie, are not of the like easinesse of apprehension. For in some, the dimme light of nature not wholly darkened, can giue a reason of that wee doe; as well as faith out of precept, doth warrant what wee doe beleue. And therefore the Gentiles both before, and after the Lawe, were to themselues a kind of Lawe, euen by the light of nature, not to doe all those thinges that they did desire, but they had a thing in their hearts, equiualent to the law in respect of forbidding, because they could accuse and excuse themselues, hauing the witnesse of their conscience present with them. Thus the effect of all the commandements, was in the Iewes before the lawe, and in the Gentiles who had not the law, giuen vnto them. Thus the first commuandement was in *Terah*, *Abrahams* father, which was the reason of his departure from *Ur* of the Chaldees, to goe into the land of Canaan. And afterwards in *Iacob* when hee departed out of *Lahans* house; aboue foure hundred yeares before the Lawe was giuen: so the second commandement in *Rachel*; the third in *Abraham* to his seruant: the fourth had a precept in the creation: the fift for honouring his parents, euen in *Esam*: the sixt in *Cain*, who knew the greatnesse of that euill, which hee had committed, that slew his brother: feare making him, out of a guiltie conscience, to denie that, which loue before had not power enough to teach him to forbear. The seuenth, in the hatred of the sinne of *Sichem*; which *Iacob* though he allowed not to be rightly punished, yet he did not approoue as to be well done. The eight, euen in Egypt, which made *Ioseph* to say, What act is that you haue done? when the cup of *Pharaoh* was found in the sacke of *Beniamin*. The ninth, when *Iudab* feared the witnesse of *Thamar*. The last

Gen. 13.

Gen. 35. 2.

Gen. 31. 34.

Gen. 24. 3.

Gen. 27. 41.

Gen. 4. 9

Gen. 34. 31.

Gen. 49. 6.

Gen. 44. 15.

vcr. 13

Gen. 38. 23.

in *Abimelech* for taking the wife of *Abraham*, where the vision did not so much tell him it was a sinne (which hee knew by nature) as that she was another mans wife. Now in these things which were observed before the morall Law, some were of more apparant dislike, even in the opinion of the heathen, who had no other direction but the light of nature; as the third, fift, sixt, seventh, eight, and ninth commandments. For the Egyptians had a lawe; Swear not least thou die. And this was punished in the twelue tables of the Romans. For the fift, *Homer* saith of one that had a misfortune, it was because hee honoured not his parents. For the sixt, nature hath made the Murderer to expect what he hath committed. For the seventh, Flie the name of an adulterer, if thou wilt escape death. For the eight, *Demosthenes* against *Timocrates* repeateth it as *Solons* law, plainly in the verie words. And for falsse witnessse, the Romans did punish it by their twelue tables. But the incarnation of Christ, the Sacraments, the Trinitie, the Decree of God, are matters of a deeper speculation; wherein humilitie must follow the direction of faith, and not seek vainely with curiositie to know that, which our silly weaknesse, is far vnable to comprehend. For as those things that are manifest are not to bee neglected, so those things that are hid, are not to be searched; least in the one we be vnlawfully curious, and in the other be found dangerously vnthankfull. Now specially for the matter of the Trinitie, wherein you take exception in your two first Articles; doubtlesse there are few errors more dangerous, or that have stirred up greater tragedies in the church of God. All men see in nature, that there is a God; but the distinction of persons, Trinitie in Vnitie, that faith in humilitie must teach vs to beleene. For who can comprehend by reason, that in that holy, and sacred Trinitie, one is what three are, and that two is but one thing; and in themselves and euerie particular infinite; and all in euerie one, and euerie one in all, and all in all, and one in all. Fire hath three things, motion, light and heat; *Arius* deuide this if thou

Gen. 20. 3.

Diodorus Sicul.
Falsibus caditur.

Homicida quod
fecit expellat.

Fuge nomen
maesti si mortem
fugies.

Stephanus ex
Nicostrato.

Tarpeio Sacco de-
ijciatur. Leg. 12.
Tabul.

* *Qua deus oc-*
culta esse voluit,
non sunt scrutan-
da; quae autem
manifesta fecit,
non sunt negli-
genda; ne &
in illis illicita cu-
riosi, & in his
damnabilius in-
ueniantur in-
grati. Prosper de
vocat. Gentium.

* *Nec periculosius*
alienis erratur,
nec laboriosius
aliquid queritur,
nec fructuosius
aliquid inuenitur
Aug. lib. 4 de
Trinitat.

Aug. 10m. 6. Ser. 7

Lib. 5. Pag. 113.

thou canst, and then deuide the Trinitie. Out of this difficultie, together with the rash presumption of ignorant men, haue proceeded those dangerous errors, that so long, and so hotly haue troubled the church; thus the *Manichies* haue denied the vnitie of Essence; the *Valentinians* (or *Gnostics*) from *Carpocrates*, held that Christ was man onely, from both sexes borne, but that he had such a soule, which knew all things that were aboute, and shewed them. Those that haue in their erroneous doctrine opposed the Trinitie, are of two sorts; they haue either denied the distinction of persons, or else the sameness of Essence; thus the *Arrians* (for we will not stand to encounter or confute all other heresies) held that Christ was a person before his incarnation, but that he was true, and eternall God, equall, and of the same essence, with his Father, that they denied; for they hold that the Sonne is not eternally begotten, of the substance of his Father, and so that there is an inequality, and indeed a distinction, and priority of essence. Into this dangerous, and ignorant blind heresie, confuted long since with powerfull and strong reasons, it seemes you are of opinion that Maister *Hooker* is fallen, both against the truth, and against the true assertions, of the Reuerend Fathers of our church. The ground of this so great and so vncharitable accusation, is because he saith, that the Father alone, is originally that Deitie, which *Christ originally* is not. Where you seem to inferre, against the distinction of the Trinitie, that the Godhead of the Father, and the Sonne cannot bee all one, if the Sonne be not originally that Deitie. It seemes then in your opinions, that this speech vttered verie learnedly, and with great wisdom, and truth; *The Father alone is originally that Deitie which Christ originally is not*, is both vnusuall, new, and dangerous. First, because it weakeneth the eternitie of the Sonne, in the opinion of the simple, or maketh the Sonne inferiour to the Father in respect of the Godhead, or else teacheth the ignorant that there may be many Gods. I know your owne Christian iudgements, could

could easily haue freed him from all suspicion of error in this point; if your charity had bin equall to your vnderstanding: for he himselfe hath confessed in the very same place, from whence you haue taken this, wherof you accuse him; that by the gift of eternall generation, *Christ* hath receiued of the father, one and in number the selfe same substance; which the father hath of himselfe vreceiued from any other. Who seeth not, saith *S. Augustin*, that these words Father, and Son, shew not the diuersities of natures, but the relation of persons; and therefore the Son is not of another nature and of a diuers substance, because the father is God, not from another God, but the Son is God from God: his father: heere is not declared the substance but the originall; that is, not what he is, but from whence he is, or is not; for in God the Father, and in God the Son, if we inquire the nature of them both, both are God, and but one God, neither greater or lesse in essence of Godhead, one then the other. But if we speake of the originall, saith Saint *Augustin* (which you see Master *Hookey* did) the Father is God originally, from whom the Son is God; but there is not from whom the Father hath originally his deity; so that to mislike this kinde of speech, is contrary to all truth, to affirme, that the Son is not eternally begotten of the father, & that the Father is not eternally a deity begetting. But heere you must take heede of the error of *Arius*, who against the truth reasoned thus; If the Sonne be coeternall with his Father, tell vs, we beseech you, whether he were begotten when he was, or when he was not; if when he was, then there was before two vnbegotten, and afterwards one begot the other; if when he was not, then he must needs be later, and after his Father. But saith Saint *Augustin*, as we haue knowne onely the Father, always and without beginning to be vnbegotten; so we confesse, the Son alwaies, and without beginning to bee begotten of his Father; therefore because the Father, is originallly that Deitie, from whence the Sonne is the Sonne; though hee be the

Epist. 66 ad Maxim.

Hic non indicatur substantia, sed origo. i. non quid sit, sed unde sit, vel non sit: Epist. 66 ad Maxim. Aug.

same Deity, yet the Father alone, is originally that Deity, which the Sonne originally is not: The want of Identitie being not in the Deity (whereof we must needs with the Church of God acknowledge an Vnitie) but in that it is not originally the same. For every thing that is a beginning, is a father vnto that which commeth of it, and every offspring is a sonne vnto that out of which it groweth. *Christ* then being God, by being of God, light by issuing out of light, though he be the same deity (for in the Trinitie there is but one deity) yet the Father is originally that deity alone, which *Christ* originally is not. Here if you note but the difference betwixt that *Deity*, and *originally that Deity*, you must needs confesse that *M. Hooker* speaketh, with the consent of reformed antiquitie, and hath said nothing to diminish the eternitie of the Sonne, or to make him inferior, in respect of his Father; or to teach the ignorant, that there be manie Gods.

ARTICLE II.

The coeternity of the Sonne, and the proceeding of the holy Ghost.

IN this Article, the thing which you mislike is not any matter of his iudgement, but that he seemeth to confesse, either out of lesse learning then you haue, or more humilitie then you shew, that the *coeternitie* of the Sonne of God, with his Father, and the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, are in Scripture no where to be found by expresse literall mention: And yet you cannot be ignorant, but that vndoubtedly he beleueed both. Therefore in my opinion it is strange, why out of the second, & fift Article, holdē by our church; you alleage that the Sonne is the word of the Father from euerlasting, begotten of the Father; and the holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son; as though you dealt

dealt with an aduersarie that denied either. You could not be ignorant (having perused his writings with that diligence to reprehend) but in this great mystetie of the Trinitie, both concerning the equalitie of the Sonne with the Father, and the Deitie of the holie Ghost, who proceedeth from both, see plainly, that he held directly, and soundly that doctrine, which is most true, and euerie way agreeable with the iudgements, and expositions of the Reuerend Fathers of our Church. Neither doe I know, whether in this point, anie of them, haue left behinde them a more sound, learned, and vertuous Confession, then he hath done. For, saith he; The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuisible vnitie, notwithstanding we adore the Father, as being altogether of himselfe; we glorifie that Consubstantiall Word, which is the Sonne; wee blesse and magnifie that coessentiall Spirit, eternally proceeding from both, which is the holy Ghost: what confession can there be in this point, of greater iudgment, learning, and truth? and wherein, there is lesse difference with that, which our Church holdeth? both hauing their ground, as you may see, by the places alleaged by M. Hooker, in the Margent, from the infallible euidence of Gods word. This troubleth you that hee saith, that these points are in scripture no where to be found; *by expresse literal mention*: which you out of your learned obseruation, haue prooued (as you thinke) to be farre otherwise, by those places of Scripture, which his carelesse reading and weake iudgement, was no way able to obserue. Where first, to proue the coeternitie of the Sonne, you alleage; *The Lord hath possessed me in the beginning of his way; I was before his workes of old.* And againe, *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.* And againe, *Glorifie me thou Father with thine owne selfe, with the glorie which I had with thee before the world was.* These places I confesse by way of collection, may serue, trulie to confirme in this Article, that which our Church holdeth (and yet they are not the plainest places that might

Booke 5. pag.
106. sect. 51.

Pro. 8. 22.
Ioh. 1. 1.

Ioh. 17. 5.

be alleaged for this purpose.) But in all these, where is there to be found expresse literall mention, of the *Coeternitie* of the Sonne, with the Father? Nay, for any thing that euer I could reade, I do not thinke you are able to find the word *Coeternall*, or *Coequal*, in the whole Scripture in this sence. For after the *Arrians* had long, in this point troubled the Church, the holy Fathers expresse what they held, by the word *Homousion*; which word Saint *Augustine* affirmeth, not to be found in all the Scripture. What then hath Maister *Hooker* said, which Saint *Augustine* said not long since? neither of them disprouing the thing, but both denying the expresse literall mention of the word; which I perswade my self your selues are neuer able to find.

Tom. 1. epist. 174
Aug.

Ioh. 15. 26.

Now for the proceeding of the holy Ghost, you alleage, as you say, expresse words: *When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send vnto you, from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth of the Father*: Out of this place (as you thinke) you haue sufficiently proued, the expresse literall mention of this point; we conted not with you, nor with any, whether the truth of this point may directly be warranted by holy Scripture; but whether there be, as you say, expresse literall mention. First then we call that expresse literall mention, which is set down in plaine tearmes, & not inferred by way of consequence: that it is so in this point we haue some reaso to doubt, vntill out of your great obseruation, you confirme it by more plaine and apparam Scripture. For against this place (which is but one) which you haue alleaged, we take this twofold exception; as thereby accounting it insufficient, to proue as you would haue it, that there is expresse literall mention of the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. For first, in that place alleaged out of Saint *Iohn*, there is no mention at all of proceeding from the Sonne. Secondly, as Maister *Besa* (whose authority you will not denie) doth expound the place, Christ speaketh not of the essence of the holy Ghost in himselfe, but of the vertue and power of the holy Ghost in vs: neither doth his interpretation (which wee will

In comment. in
Iohann. 15. 26

will not examine at this time) any way prejudice the foundation of that truth, which our Church doth hold. For the Deitie of the holie Ghost proceeding from the Father, and the Sonne, though not by any expresse literall mention; yet may easily be proued by infinite places of Scripture; and other infallible demonstrations besides this. In the dayes of *Liberius* the Pope, and of *Constantine* the Emperour, certaine fantastickall spirits held, that the holy Ghost was not God; but onely the ministeriall instrument of diuine working: This began vnder *Arrius*, and increased by *Eunomius*, a leprous heretike, but a subtil Logitian; whom the Church hath strongly confuted, with arguments impossible to be answered. As first, that the holy Ghost is euerie where; to giue all things: to know and search all things; that we are commanded to baptise in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost: besides the greatnesse of the sinne against the holy Ghost: So *Ananias* that lyed, as *Peter* said, to the holy Ghost, lyed not to man, but to God. These and many such places, warranted those ancient Councils, to conclude the Deitie of the holy Ghost, equall to the Father and the Sonne; and equally proceeding from both. As first the Councell of Constantinople, consisting of an hundreth and fiftie Bishops, vnder *Theodosius* the elder, and *Damasius* the Pope, which condemned the heresie of the Macedonians. The same faith was confirmed by the Councell of Ephesus; the Councell of Chalcedon; the Councell of Lateran, vnder *Innocentius* the third, and diuers others. And *Athanasius* himselfe maketh it most plaine, that the Father is of none, either made, created, or begotten: the Sonne is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten: the holy Ghost is from the Father, and the Sonne, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. In this, nothing being first, or last, greater, or lesse; but all the three persons, coeternall and coequall. The proceeding of the holy Ghost (as the Schoolemen obserue) is threefold; one vn-
speakeable and eternal, whereby the holy Ghost eternally;

Psal. 136.

1. Corin. 2.

Lam. 1.

Matt. 28.

Math. 11.

About the
yeare 381.

430.

411.

and without time, proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne; the other temporall, when he is sent from the Father, and the Son, to sanctifie the elect. Of this latter proceeding, saith *Beza*, is that place vnderstood which you peremptorily alleage, for to proue the first. So then we say, for our answer to this cauill, that as yet we see not expresse literall mention of these points; but that they are truly and soundly collected, by the Church, we neither doe, can, or dare deny; secondly, that the deniall of expresse literall mention, ought not to make any scruple, in the minds of weake Christians, concerning these articles, the substance wherof are plaine scripture; though for the words we finde not as yet any expresse literall mention: nor last of all (as you seeme to feare) it can be no vnderpropping to the traditions of the Church of Rome, which if they can proue with the like necessary collection, out of the holy scripture, we are readie to imbrace them with all our hearts. In the meane time we account it a wrong, to haue an article of our faith, for want of expresse literall mention out of scripture, to be compared to traditions, of that kinde, for which in scripture there is no warrant at all. To conclude then this article, we say that in the Trinitie there is that Identity of essence, that it admitteth equality, but not plurality: the Father is one, the Sonne another, the Holy-Ghost another, but not another thing. For that thing that they all are, is this one thing, that they are one God. So that Saint *Austin* saith, I and my Father are one; heere both the words of the sentence, *one*, & *we*; in that he saith *one*, he freeth thee from *Arius*; and in that he saith *we*, hee freeth thee from *Sabellius*. For are, hee would not say of one; and one, he would not say of diuers: for euery person hath his owne substance, which no other besides hath, although there be others besides, which are of the same substance. For the persons of the Godhead by reason of the vnty of their substance, doe as necessarily remaine, one within another, as they are of necessity, to be distinguished

Aug. in Psal. 68

*Alius non alius,
Vnum non vnum.*

*Aug. tom. 9. in
Euang. 101.
traff. 36.
Damasc. de Or-
thodox. fid. lib. 3
cap. 6.*

guished one fro another: because two are the issue of one, and one the offspring of the other two; only of three, one, not growing out of any other. For sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible essence, or substance, their distinction cannot possible admit separation; the Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them: He that can, saith *Aufine*, conceiue, let him comprehend it, but hee that cannot, let him beleue, and pray, that that which hee beleueing he may truly vnderstand.

Hol. lib. 5. pag. 111.

Aug. rom. 8. 102. Max. epist. lib. 3. 10.

ARTICLE III.

*Whether the holy Scriptures containe all things
necessarie to saluation.*



Two things, are requisite to mans better life; a faith to beleue what he ought, a knowledge to comprehend what hee must beleue. For, faith our Sauour, in this is eternal life, to know thee to be the only verie God, and whom thou hast sent Iesus Christ. Because therefore the want of this knowledge, is the cause of all iniquitie amongst men, as contrariwise the verie ground of all our happinesse, and the seed of whatsoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine: this kind of knowledge wee may iustly set downe, for the first and chiefest thing, which God imparteth to his people; and our dutie, of receiuing this at his mercifull hands, for the first of those religious offices, wherewith wee publickly honour him on earth. Now our Church holdeth, and wee most willingly confesse, that the scripture is the true ground, of all that holily we beleue. But yet for all that, not the onely meanes, concerning God, of all that profitably wee know. For that new impression, made into our nature, eue by the hand of the Almighty, after the first sinne; and the wise beholding of his excellent workmanship, in the

Mat. 17. 3.

24 Article 3. *Whether the holy Scriptures*

making of all his creatures, are two volumes wherein wee may read (though not directly) the mercy of that power, that hath saued vs; yet the greatnes, and the might of that hand that hath first made vs : which though it be not all that we must beleuee, yet it is not the least part of that, which we ought to know. For this, as it maketh vs without excuse, so it serueth euen to leade vs, to a better knowledge : and (vntill it be perfect) to vtter out of the light of nature, those voices, which may argue vs, though not to be sonnes (for by this we cannot crie *Abba Father*) yet to be reasonable creatures, of that power which we do adore; this made *Enripides* in *Troas*, and manie of the heathen, to vtter those prayers, which had they beene offered vp in Chrill, had not bin vnbecseeming a good Christian : so that though the Scriptures containe all things, which are necessarie to saluation; and that our chiefest direction, is from them; yet we are not affraid to confesse, that there is besides a light of nature, not altogether vnprofitable; the insufficiencie whereof, is by the light of Scripture, fully and perfectly supplied : and that both these together, as *Malter Hooker* affirmeth, which you mislike, doe serue in such full sort, that they both iointly & not seuerally, either of them, be so compleat, that vnto euerlasting felicity, we need not the knowledge of any thing more then of these two; I cannot but maruaile, that men indued with reason should finde anie thing, in this assertion, which in the hardest construction, might be wrested as detracting fro the sufficiency of the holy scripture: And only for this cause, by reason that we reade darkly, by the light of nature those first elements, out of a naturall knowledge, which by the accesse of a better teacher, serue afterward for the full perfecting of that knowledge, which is requisite to mans saluation. For as the schoolemen say, man standeth in need of a threefold lawe, to a morall vprightnes, setting aside that righteousnes requisite for his heauenly country. First an eternall law (which *Saint Austyn* calleth the chiefest reason) secondly naturall; last of all humane;

Rom. I.

* O terra reli-
culum, & in ter-
ras sedem habens.
Quisquis tandem
ex marcesse no-
bris animis In-
piter: siue natu-
ra ordo sic ferat,
siue meus mortu-
lium te veneror:
omnia enim se-
crete, & sine
strepitu quis facis
incedere via, &
iusto libramine
mortalia & hu-
mana. Eurip.
in *Troas*.

* Booke 1. pag.
88.

* Lib. 3. de Libe-
ro arbit. cap. 6.
Summam ratio-
nem.

humane; vnto which if we adde that man, ouer and besides these, is in an ordination to a supernaturall ende; then it is manifest, that to make him a heavenly Citizen there is requisite a fourth lawe; which man, must learne to obeie, out of the holy scripture. But as in the greatest and fairest buildings euen those stones, that lye lowest, are of an vse, not be contemned; though peraduenture, not comparable to those last, exquisite perfections, by which the worke is finished; so euen the light of nature, for the acting of morall vertues, hath his vse, though not absolutely compleat, to make vs *Christians*: And therefore in the nature of mans will, the very Philosophers did seldom erre; but in the strength of it often. So that some ascribed more then was fit; others lesse then they ought; imputing al to a stoical and fatall necessitie. Now that we may truly vnderstand, (the ignorance or mistaking whereof, hath bin the ground of your exception in this third article) what good things man of himselfe may do or know without the grace of God; we are taught, first that all actions are of three sorts; naturall, which are common to man with the brute beasts; as to eate, sleepe, and such like, which appertaine to his naturall life. Secondly, ciuill, which we call politicall, or morall, humane actions; as to buie, sel, to learne anie art, and to conlude any other action, which concerneth the politick, or priuate society of man. Thirdly, those which belong to the kingdome of God, to a perfect, happy, and true Christian life; as to repent vs of our sinnes, to beleue in God, to call vppon him, to obeie his voice, to liue after his precepts, and such like: now the question is, what grace and power is requisite to man, to performe any, or all these. Where we must obserue, that some men (how properlie I know not) make the grace of God to be threefold. First that generall motion and action diuine, of which Saint *Paul* saith, in him we liue, we moue, and haue our being. This the Schoolemen call a generall ouerflowing; and of the late writers, especially of *Luther*, it is called the action

*Cartesius, ad finem
man Aquinatis
in quest. 9.2*

*Agustinus
Superfluus
generalis*

26 Article 3. Whether the holy Scriptures

of the omnipotency; and this grace is common to all, that are within that compas to be called creatures. Secondly there is a grace of God, which is a special fauor of God, by the which he bestoweth, and deuidently his gifts, and morall vertues, both to the faithfull and vnfaithfull, as pleaseth him. To the faithfull, that hauing the helpe afterward of a better light, they may serue to be meanes of their saluation; to the vnfaithfull, for speciall vses, and manifold, in the society of man, and to make themselues, in the end without excuse. Such were those gifts in the Romans, and others of the heathen, of iustice, fortitude, temperance, prudence, which they thought, were from nature; but we acknowledge to be from the special fauour of God; for as being, so truth is but one, and by whom soeuer it is done, or spoken, it proceedeth from the Holy-ghost; and therefore I both maruaile at those, who make an opposition betwixt this light of nature and the scripture; being both from one fountaine, though running in diuers streames; and that some men pccusly refuse the excellentest truthes, of heathen learning, seeing euen in them, these haue proceeded from the Holy-ghost. Thirdly, there is a grace of regeneration, or the grace of Christ, without which, there can bee nothing performed of man truly good; for faith 'our Sauour, Without me, you can doe nothing; and Saints *Paul*, Not I but the grace of God which is with me; so that this must be the perfection of the other two, which is powerfull to mans saluation, not rasing out, that which before was, but finishing that which before was imperfect. The two first, induing man with a passive power, (as the schoolemen call it) which though actually it can doe nothing, yet it is fit to performe that, which it hath no repugnancy in his owne nature to resist; as wood can be made fire, which water cannot. The last only affoording that actual power, which maketh him capable of the supernaturall worke; so that it is true in diuinity, that the possibility to haue faith, is from nature; but to haue it, it is of grace (as Saint *Anstie* and *Prosper* hold)

1. Cor. 13.

⁴ Veritas à quo-
cunque dicatur à
Spiritu Sancto
est. *Ambros.*

⁵ Si unicum ve-
ritatis fontem dei
Spiritus esse re-
putamus, verita-
tem ipsam neque
respuimus neque
contemnamus u-
biusque appare-
bit.

³ Calvin *Inst.* lib.

2. cap. 2. sect. 14.

¹ Io. 15. 5.

² 1. Cor. 15. 10.

⁴ posse habere fi-
dem, est natura;
habere gratia.
Austat Prosper.
cont. Cassianum.

hold) neither of them vnderstanding an actrall haui-
of faith without the grace of regeneration: This made the
Fathers, in their sermons to the people, to stirre them vp
to prayer and good workes; to tell them often, that wee
can loue God, and doe good workes; whereunto, they
only ment that we had a passiue power, which stocks and
brute beasts haue not. Now for the actiue power, wee
hold, that man hath not this in naturall things, without
the generall helpe of God; and in morall actions, or the
learning of artes, not with that generall helpe onely,
(which hath bin some mens error) but from a more speci-
all and peculiar grace; the weakenes of those common
notions of good and euill, iust and vniust, left in our na-
ture by a newe impressiō, after sin, is for the most part
such, that they can hardly discern any thing, no not in
arts, vnlesse they be inlightned from aboue. And therefore,
that Numa amongst the Romans; *Solon* amongst the Athe-
nians; *Lycorgus* amongst the Lacedemonians; and that ma-
ny other amongst the Gentiles, were wise, and in that
kinde vertuous; was not so much from nature, as from a
speciall grace: whose morall workes, saith Saint *Austin*,
were good, in their office, and action; but not in their
end. This argument he very learnedly handleth, against
Julian the Pelagian, where he concludeth two thinges;
that there can be no true vertues, or truly chaste workes
in infidels; and that those workes whatsoeuer they are, are
not from nature, but from a speciall grace: the haui-
whereof, though it serue not of it selfe to saluation, yet
we are not afraid to asseme, that the want of these doe or-
dinarily exclude from saluation: Iustice, fortitude, tempe-
rance, & prudence, being the effects of the same grace, but
lesse powerfully working; faith, hope, and charity, only
taught by a supernaturall truth. So that though the light
of nature, teach a truth necessary to saluation, without the
scripture, yet it teacheth no knowledge, which is not con-
teined in holy scripture; the difference only being in this,
that the light of nature, doth not teach all that the scrip-
ture

*Officio et actione
bona sunt sed non
sunt. Aust.*

*Tom. 7 lib. 4.
cap. 3.*

ture doth, but that the scripture teacheth all, (& more perfectly) which is taught by the light of nature: heerein only neither excluded as vnnecessarie; the one being subordinate to the other, and both meanes of the same thing. To conclude then this point; wee hold (being warranted by holy truth) that the scriptures are the perfect measure and rule of faith, and that without Christ, we cannot be compleat; and yet for all this, that nature, so inlightened, teacheth those morall vertues, without which, is no ordinary saluation; but we say not, that matters and cases of saluation bee determined, by any other lawe, then warranted by holy scripture; or that we are, or can be iustified, by any other then in Christ, by faith without the workes of the lawe: for there is no other name, which is given vnder heauen, amongst men, by which we must be saued. The naturall man perceiuech not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishnes vnto him: for except a man bee borne againe, hee cannot see the kingdome of heauen.

Deut. 4. 2.

Gal. 1. 8.

Iohn. 30. vlr.

2. Tim. 3. 16.

Rom. 10. 17.

Rom. 15. 4.

Ephe. 2. 10

Rom. 3. 27

1. Cor. 2. 14

Io. 3. 3

ARTICLE IIII.

Holy scriptures about the Church.



Though the vnthankfulness of man be without excuse, euen from the brightnes that riseth from looking vpon al the creatures; which with their beames shineth into the darke corners of mans hart, yet in his mercy, he hath not left him altogether destitute of a better guide. The first seruing, to teach him that there is a God; the latter, what that God is, and how he will bee worshipped by man. This light wee call the scripture; which God hath not vouchsafed to all, but to those only, whome he gathereth more neerely and familiarly to him selfe, and vouchsafeth that honor, to be called his Church, that, as men through infirmity seeing weakely, prouide vnto themselves, the helpe

of a better sight; so, what man cannot reade, by the dim-
 nies of his seeing out of the creatures, he may more appar-
 rantly reade them, in the holy scriptures. For as there is
 no saluation without religion; no religion without faith;
 so there is no faith without a promise, nor promise with-
 out a word: for God desirous to make an vnion betwixt
 vs and himselfe, hath so linked his word and his Church,
 that neither can stand, where both are not. The Church
 for her part, in her choice allowance testifying, as well
 that it is the scripture; as the scripture, from an absolute
 authority, doth assure vs that it is the Church. For as those,
 who are conuerted, haue no reason to beleeu, that to
 be the Church, where there is no scripture; so those who
 are not conuerted, haue no great reason, to admit that
 for scripture, for which they haue not the Churches
 warrant. So that in my opinion, the contention is vn-
 naturall and vnfit, to make a variance by comparison, be-
 twixt those two, who are in reason and nature, to support
 each other. It was a memorable attonement, that *Abra-
 ham* made with *Lotte*, let there be no strife I pray thee be-
 tweene thee and me, neither betweene thy heardsmen,
 and my heardsmen, for we be brethrens; so vndoubtedly,
 may the Church and the scripture say; it is then to be fea-
 red that those, who treacherously make this contentious
 comparison betwixt both, are in very deepe, true friends
 to neither. For though we dislike of them, by whome
 too much heretofore, hath bin attributed to the Church;
 yet we are loth to grow to an error on the contrary hand,
 and so derogate too much from the Church of God: by
 which remouall of our unity with another, the
 worlde seeking to procure a remedy, hath purchased
 a meete exchanging of the euill, which before was felt.
 We and our aduersaries confesse, that the scriptures in
 themselves haue great authority; inward witness from that
 Spirit, which is the author of all truth; and outward argu-
 ments, strong motives of beleefe, which cleaueth firme-
 ly to the word it selfe. For what doctrine was euer deli-
 uered

Genesis. 13. 8

1. King. 13. 2
Esay. 44. 18.
45 1.

John. 4.

Ecclesi. 4. 9

uered with greater maiesty? What stile euer had such simplicity? purity? diuinity? What history or memoriall of learning is of like antiquity? what oracles foretold haue bin effected, with such certainty? What miracles more powerfull to confirme the truth? What enemies euer preuailed lesse or laboured more violently to roote it out? To conclude, what witnesses haue dyed with more innocency, or lesse feare, then those that haue sealed the holinesse of this truth? This the Scripture is in it selfe; but men who are of lesse learning, then these reformers are, do not vnworthily make question, how that which ought thus highly to be esteemed for it selfe, commeth to be accounted of thus honorably by vs; for the weakenes of mans iudgement, doth not euer value things, by that worth which they doe deserue. For vndoubtedly out of that error, hath proceeded your suspicion of him, whose inward worthines, must now be content to receiue testimony, from a witnes by many thousand degrees, inferior to himselfe. To them of Samaria the woman gaue testimony of our sauour Christ; not that she was better, but better knowne; for witnesses of lesse credit, then those of whome they beare witness, but of some more knowledge then those to whome they beare witness, haue euer bin reputed to giue a kind of warrant and authority vnto that they proue. Seeing then the Church, which consisteth of many, doth outwardly testifie, what euery man inwardly should be; to swarue vnnecessarilie from the iudgement of the whole Church, experience as yet hath neuer found it safe. For that which by her ecclesiasticall authority, she shal probably thinke & define to be true; or good, must in congruity of reason, ouerrule all other inferior iudgements whatsoever. And to them (that out of a singularity of their owne) aske vs why we thus hang our iudgements on the Churches steeue, wee answer with *Salomon*, Two are better then one; for euen in matters of lesse moment, it was neuer thought safe, to neglect the iudgement of many, and rashly to follow the fancy, and opinion

opinion of some few. If the Fathers of our Church had had no greater reason to avouch their forsaking of the Antichristian Synagogue, (as you call it) then this point; wee might iustly haue wished to haue him recouered to the fellowship, & society of their church. For this point, as it seemeth rightly vnderstood, affordeth little difference betwixt them and vs; and therefore there was no mention of it in the last council their Church had. And *Bellarmino* himselfe, doth apparently complaine, that we wrong them in this point; for doubtles it is a tolerable opinion of the Church of Rome; if they go no further (as some of them do not) to affirme that the scriptures, are holy and diuine in themselves, but so esteemed by vs for the authority of the Church; for there is no man doubteth but that it belongeth to the Church (if we vnderstand as we ought those truely who are the Church) to approue the scriptures, to acknowledge; to rectiue; to publish; & so commend vnto his Children. And this witness ought to be receiued of all, as true, yet wee doe not beleue the scriptures for this only; for there is the testimony of the Holy-ghost, without which the commendation of the Church were of little value. That the scriptures are true to vs, wee haue it from the Church; but that wee beleue them as true, we haue it from the Holy-ghost. We confesse, it is an excellent office of the Church, to beare witness to the scriptures; but we say not, that otherwise we would not beleue them. We graunt that the scriptures rightly vsed, are the iudge of contropersies; that they are the triall of the Church; that they are in themselves a sufficient witness for what they are: but yet for all this, wee are not afraid, with Master *Hauker* to confesse, that it is not the word of God, which doth, or possibly can, assure vs, that we do well to thinke it is the word of God. For by experience we all know, that the best outward motion, leading men so to esteeme of the scripture, is the authority of Gods Church, which teacheth vs to receiue the Gospel. who was not an Apostle, and refused the Gospel of *Thomas* who was

of Trent.

D. Whitaker.

Booke. 1. pag. 101.

Booke. 2. pag. 146 Hauker.

an

an Apostle, & to retain S. Luke's gospel, who saw not Christ,
and to reject the Gospell of Nicodemus that saw him.

For though in themselves, they haue an apparant & great difference (as there must needs be betwixt Scripture and no Scripture) yet to those that are vnable to discern so much, the matter stands ouerruled only, by the authoritie of the Church. For though, as Maister Hooker saith, the Scriptures teach vs, that sauing truth, which God hath discovered to the world, by reuelation; yet it presumeth vs taught otherwise, that it selfe is diuine and sacred: And therefore the reading of the Scripture in our Churches, is one of the plainest euidences we haue of the Churches assent and acknowledgement that it is the Scripture: And yet without any contradiction at all, who so assenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his authoritie whose words they are. Those with whom the Church is to deale, are often heretikes; and these will much sooner beleue the Church, then the Scriptures. Therefore saith Saint *Austine* (in that knowne place) I had not beleued the Scriptures, if I had not beene compelled by the authoritie of the Church. And howsoeuer the Church may seeme, now little to need her authoritie; because the greatest haruest of heresies is past; yet we must not contemne her for all that, because euen the weedes of heresie, being growne vnto a ripenesse, doe euen in their verie cutting downe scatter oftentimes, those seedes, which for a while ly vnseene, and buried in the earth, but afterwards freshly spring vp againe, no lesse pernicious then at the first. Therefore the Church hath, and must haue, to the end of the world, foure singular offices towards the Scripture. First, to be a witnesse and keeper of them, as it were a faithfull Register: whose fidelitie, in that behalfe, vnlesse we be bastard children, we haue no reason at all to suspect; witness of lesse truth and authoritie, hauing oftentimes the credite to be beleued. Secondly, to discern and iudge betweene false and adulterate, and that which is true, and perfect; in this respect, it hath a propertie, which other assemblies

*Lim. 38. ubi su-
pra.*

*Contra epist. fun-
damenti. cap. 5.*

Testis.

Vindex.

assemblies want; to heare, and discern the voice of her husband; neither can she be thought a chaste spouse, who hath not the abilitie to do that. But as the Goldsmith either in his ballance, or with his touchstone, discerneth pure gold from other mettrals of lesse value, yet doth not make it; so dealeth the Church, who hath not authoritie to make scripture, that which is not; but maketh a true difference from that which did only seeme. Neither in this respect, is the Church aboute the Scriptures, but acknowledged in humilitie, that shee is left in trust, to tell her children which is her husbands voice; and to point out to the world (as *Iohn Baptist* did Christ) a truth of a farre more excellent perfection then her selfe is: As if I doubted of a strange coine, wherein I rest satisfied in the resolution of a skilfull man; but yet valuing the coine for the matter and the stampe of the coine it selfe. The third office of the Church is to publish, and iudge, to proclaime as a cryer, the true edict of our Lord himselfe, not daring (as *Chrysostom* saith) to adde anie thing of her owne; which shee no sooner doth, but the true subiects yeeld obedience, not for the voice of him that proclaime, but for the authoritie of him whose ordinances are proclaimed. The last is to be an Interpreter; and in that following the safest rule (to make an vndiuided vnicie of the truth vncapable of contradiction) to be a most faithfull expositor of his owne meaning. Thus whilest the Church for that trust reposed in her, dealeth faithfully in these points, we are not afraid to acknowledge, that wee see the same of the Scriptures, as rightly wee are led by the authoritie of Gods Church. Those that are of that iudgement, that they dare giue credit without witness, though we follow not their example in ouermuch credulitie, yet we blame not their iudgments in that kind. Touching therefore the authoritie of the Church, & the scriptures, though we graunt (as you say) that the Church is truly distinguished by the scriptures; that the scriptures (which is a strange phrase) warrant trial of Gods word; & that it was euer be-

Præf.

Homil. 1. ad Titum.

Interpret.

Epil. 1. 2.

AG. 17. 18.
Tit. 1. 12.

leeued for the words sake; yet without feare of vnderpropping anie popish principle (as you tearme it) we say, that we are taught to receiue it, from the authoritie of the Church; we see her iudgement; we heare her voice; and in humilitie subscribe vnto all this; euer acknowledging the Scriptures to direct the Church, and yet the Church to affoord (as she is bound) her true testimony to the Scripture. For the verse of *Menander, Aratus, or Epimenides*, was, and had beene euer but the saying of Poets; had not the Church assured vs, that it was vttered since, by an instrument of the holy Ghost.

ARTICLE V.

Of Freewill.



N Searching out the nature of humane reason, whilst wee reach into the depth of that excellencie, which man had by creation; we must needs confesse, that by sinne he hath lost much, who now is vnable, to comprehend all that hee should; but wee dare not affirme that hee hath lost all, who even in this blindness, is able to see something, and in this weakenesse strong enough, without the light of supernaturall Iustifying grace, to tread out those paths of moral vertues, which haue not only great vse in humane society, but are also not altogether of a nature oppositely different from mans saluation. And therefore the naturall way to find out lawes by reason, guideth, as it were by a direct path, the will vnto that which is good, which naturally hauing a freedome in her selfe, is apt to take, or refuse, any particular object whatsoeuer being presented vnto it. Which though wee affirme, yet we neither say that Reason can guide the will vnto all that is good (for though euery good that concerneth vs hath euidence inough for it selfe, yet reason is not diligent to search it out;) nor we say not, that the will doth

doth take or refuse any particular object; but is apt rather, noting the nature whereby it hath that power, then shewing the ability whereby it hath that strength. For though sinne hath given (as the Schoolemen observe) foure wounds vnto our nature; *Ignorance, Malice, Concupiscence, and infirmity*; the first in the vnderstanding, the second in the will, the third in our desiring appetite, the last in the Irascible; yet the will is free from necessity and coaction, though not from misery and infirmity. For (as Saint Bernard saith) there is a threefold freedome, from necessity, from sinne, from misery: the first of nature, the second of grace, the third of glory. In the first, from the bondage of coaction, the will is free in it owne nature, and hath power ouer it selfe. In the second, the will is not free, but freed, from the bondage of sin. And in the third it is freed from the seruitude of corruption. Now that freedome, by which the will of man is named free, is the first only: and therefore we dare say, that the wicked, who haue not the two last, (being captiues to sin in this life, and to misery in the life to come) yet for all this, want not the freedome of will. Now this freedome of nature as Aristotle noteth, is two-fold; that which is opposite to a simple coaction, and that to which not only a coaction, but a necessity is opposite. The first is of those things, which cannot by any means but be willed of vs, & yet freely and voluntarily are willed; as to be happy, which none can chuse but will, though most doe faile in the meanes: the second, when we can either will, or not will; as to walke, speake, sit, or such like. Now because nothing is the proper, or the chiefe object of the will, but that which either is, or seems to be good, as all learned men assume; therefore in our wils, there is this vitall error, that our vnderstandings are decieued by the inferior appetites of the flesh, which maketh that seeme good, in the particular proposition, which it pronounceth so be true in the generall. And therefore being by nature to will good, willed that which is directly opposite

De gratia et libero arbitrio
P. Lomb. lib. 2.
Sent. dist. 29.
1. c. 7. § 6.
Libera sed libera.
Rom. 6.
Rom. 2.

Aristot. 3. Ethic.
cap. 4. §.

Clem. Alexan.
in Strom. Aug.
lib. 2. conf. §.

Boeth. de con. lib.
4. Damasc. de.
fide lib. 2. cap. 2.
Arist. 1. Ethic.
cap. 1. Sent. lib.
4. de. ven. cap. 7.
In hypoth. bo.
num, in thes.
mahon.

site, because reason growing idle, in the slouth of an inferior appetite, wanteth diligence to search it out. Fewer men but think drunkenness in generall to be euil, which notwithstanding themselves do embrace, because in particular they thinke it good: This being the difference in all sinne, that then it seemeth to be none, when it is (this sin) Thus the conclusion by the rules of Logicke, being from the particular (wherein reason corrupted hath failed) the will hath reason enough to follow that; and therefore saith S. *Austin*, man vsing amisse the freedome of this wil, hath both lost it and himselfe; not in respect of the naturall libertie from coaction, but in respect of the libertie which is from sinne, as *Aquinas* answereth. Saint *Ambrose* (or whose foeuer was the Authour of that booke of the calling of the Gentiles) saith, that in man there is a threefold will; 1
sensitiue, animal, spiritual; the two first, he holdeth to be 2
the last to be the worke of the holy Ghost. For as one 3
teth, there is in man an vnderstanding of earthly things, and of heauenly: *earthly* things, as of policie, gouerning 1
of families, arts, liberall and mechanicall, and such like, which pertaine not directly to God, to his kingdome, to the righteousness of it, to eternall happinesse; *heauenly*, as the knowledge of the diuine will, and framing our liues according to it: Of the first we say, that because man is a sociable creature, & naturally inclineth to all that concerne the preservation of that; there are left in him certain vniuersall impressions, wherein in all ages, wise men haue conspired for the making of good lawes: Which in my opinion is not much lesse, then that which you reprehend, being affirmed by M. *Hooker*. But the vnderstanding of heauenly things, we confesse by the corruption of original sin wholly to be taken from vs: For natural things are corrupted, & supernaturall taken away. For we think not as some of the ancient Fathers did, especially the Greekes (who were loth to dissent too much from the Philosophers) that man was corrupted only in his sensuall part, and that hee hath reason sound, and his will also for the most part. For saith

Aug. in Ench.
cap. 30.

Part. 1. quest.
83. art. 2.

Cal. Inst. lib. 3.
cap. 2. sect. 13.
Insuper sum est
uniuersis semen
aliquod ordinis
positici.

Naturalia cor-
rupta supernatu-
ralia ablata.

saith Saint *Austin*, *Adam* had that he might, if he would; but not to will that he could: And therefore in supernaturall things (which are the workes of pietie pleasing and acceptable to God) (of which is vnderstood all that you alleage out of the tenth Article of the Church of England) we say the will of man hath not obtained grace by freedom, but freedome by grace; yet for all this, neither doth the will want in his owne nature a potentiall freedome in all things, nor an actuall powerfull freedome in some things: for the blow that sinne gaue, made not an equall disability to all actions; seeing all actions are not in equal distance from mans nature. For the thoughts, and the actions of man, wee know are of three kinde; naturall, morall, supernaturall; nowe there are manie truths theoricall, and mechanickall, contained in naturall and humane arts, which by man may bee comprehended, onely by the light of nature: for though some diuinities are of opinion, that no morall truth can be knowne of the vnderstanding of man, in the state of nature corrupt, without the special help of God; others contrary (as *Alexander*, *Bonaventura*, *Scotus*, *Aquinas* and diuers others) yet all agree in this, that man can know a morall truth in generall, without any speciall grace; but that good that directly belongeth to eternall life, he cannot. Now what I pray you doth our Church say lesse where it saith, that without the grace of God (which is by Christ) presenting vs, that we will, and working together while we will, we are nothing at all able to doe the workes of pietie, which are pleasing & acceptable to God? Or what in your opinion doth *M. Hooker* say more, when he saith that there is in the will of man, naturall that freedome, whereby it is apt (not able) to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever, being presented to it? or when hee saith there is not that good which concerneth vs, but it hath enough for euidence in it selfe if Reason were diligent to search it out: the fault of mans error in election, arising out of the slouth of reason, not out of the nature of the good. And this

De corrupt. & gratia ad Valent. cap. 2.

Humana voluntas non liberata gratiam, sed gratia consequitur libertatem.

Aug. ubi supra. Cum vult non potest, quia quid potuit noluit: ideo per malum velle perdidit boni posse. Aug. Cal. lib. 1. Infit. cap. 2. & lib. 2. cap. 2.

Grego. Arimi. in 2. Sent. dist. 26. quæst. 1. & Galus. Cassianus lib. 1. de quadripartita infortia cap. 32. Prima principia doctrinae moralis.

slouth, being nothing els, but that heauie burthen, wherewith we are loden by our first corruption. And therefore in mine opinion, the accusation is directly false, whereby you would make him to say contrary to his words; that reason by diligence is able to find out anie good concerning vs. For hee that saith that there is vertue enough in the poole to heale, if a man had power enough to put himselfe in; doth not affirme that man hath strength enough to doe it; but that the poole had vertue, if hee were able to do it. But doubtlesse we are dead in our finnes, and trespasses; we are not sufficient of our selues to thinke anie thing; and yet as *Seneca* saith, it is the gift of God that we liue, for that he hath done without vs; but it is an act of our owne (not simply, but of our selues helped) that we liue well. For many other things may vnwillingly be done by vs, but the act of beleeuing, as it must be done in vs, so it must be done willingly, and with vs. And therefore saith Saint *Austin*, there are three things necessarie that supernaturall mysteries may bee perceived by vs; first, a diuine reuelation from the Scriptures; a perswasion of that truth by miracles, or some other meanes; and last of all, the rule of the will. For, saith he, a man may enter into the Church vnwillingly; he may receiue the sacrament vnwillingly; but no man can beleene but willingly. Now there is no difference betwixt the will, and the free will, (both being the rationall power of desiring) but that the one respecteth the end; and then it is called *will*: the other respecteth the meanes, and then it is called *free will*. So the same power of vnderstanding, as it respecteth the first principles, is called vnderstanding; as it respecteth the conclusion which is gathered by a discourse, from the principles, it is called reason. Now this reason concerning things doubtful hath naturally in it selfe, a way to both opposites; but leaneth to that for the most part, wherinto either *appetite*, *ignorance* or *grace* sway it. So that though freely and without constraint, it follow naturally the wisdom of the flesh; yet without a supernaturall grace, the wisdom of the flesh

Ioh 5.

Eph. 2. 9.

2. Cor. 3. 5.

Deorum munus
est quod viuimus,
nostrum quod
sancti viuimus.

Senec.

Rom. 10.

Imperium vo-
luntatis.

Aug. in tract. 35
in Ioh. 1.

Prima principia.

Rom. 9. 7.

is enmitie against God? For it is not subject to the lawe of God, neither indeed can be. This being duly weighed with vnderstanding, and considered of with a charitable humilitie, such as the cause requireth; eavery man may see (notwithstanding your accusation) that our Church in this neither differeth from the truth, nor *Master Hooker* is all from our Church.

ARTICLE VI

Of Faith and Works.

Where charity hath not power enough to guide reason, there malice out of ignorance, is able to make conclusions against sense. For the eyes being blinded which naturally are to perform the best offices of seeing; the colours that are discerned otherwise, are little better, than the false errors of a troubled fancy. For where the light is darkened, how great must that darkenes be? To attaine by a supernaturall power, to that felicity, which is an acte of the greatest mercy, as infinite numbers faile in the thing; so there are not a few, which vterly mistake the meanes. And whilst all, that are Christians, acknowledge it to be a grace; eager contentions are stirred vp, whether it be imputed, or inherent in vs. And seeing in this acte of iustification, by the consent of all, man doth receiue from God what he hath, the question is, what vertue must be in that hand, to inable weakenes to receiue such strength; and how that faith must be accompanied, that is able to clothe our soules with the righteoulnes of anothers merit. Here we haue aduersaries, whom peradventure we mistake, as they mistake vs; making, (as in other points) a misconstruction, to be the ground of a great difference, and the strongest opposition, to arise from hence; that neither part is willing to vnderstand each other. Here if we should but discouer the least meanes of reconciliation, some hasty spirits would not stick to accuse vs as more then

Math. 6. 23

then partiall; and that treacherouslie we sought to betray the cause. In this we purpose, to set downe what truth warranteth in this behalfe; it is rather to free him from suspition, whom you doe accuse, then that hee in that, wherein you accuse him, any way standeth in neede of our weake defence. If man rightly value but the merit of the Sonne of God; and how so humble, and innocent obedience, to so lowe a state, must needs in iustice, make a full satisfaction, for so great a sin; he cannot chule but confesse that onely for the merit of our Lord, and Sauour Iesus Christ, through faith, and not for works and our merits, we are accounted righteous before God. If the boile of man, did serue only to give him *being* in this life, then things appertaining to this life would content him, as we see they doe other creatures; which creatures, inioying those things by which they liue, they doe seeke no further, but in this contentation, doe shew a kinde of acknowledgement, that there is no higher good, which any way doth belong vnto them. With man it is far otherwise; for although all inferiour things were in the possession of one, yet he would euer with a desire thirst, for some thing aboue all those; so that nature, euen in this life, doth claime a perfection, higher and more diuine, then any thing in it selfe, which man must receiue in the reward: now rewards doe alwaies presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable; our naturall meanes vnto blessednesse are our workes, nor is it possible, that nature should euer finde any other way to saluation, but only this. Yet seeing that no man can say, since the foundation of the world, that his workes are pure, but that all flesh is guilty of that, for which God hath threatned eternally to punish; there resteth either no way vnto saluation, or a way which must needs be supernatural, and aboue mans reach. Had *Adam* continued in his first estate, mans absolute righteousness, and integrity in all his actions, had bin the way of life to him and to all his posterity; though peraduenture not in so large a manner as heauenly felicity, doth import; the

*A. 1. 1. Ecclesi.
Ang. de hominis
iustificat.*

*Suauis merces
est ut ipso perfru-
amur. Aug. de
doct. Christi, cap.
6.*

Marth. 5. 12

possession whereof, euen the least moment, were too abundant a retribution. Yet now, we sayling, in that which was our dutie, it were a thing impossible in nature, to obtaine the other. The light of nature, is neuer able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of blisse, but by performing exactly the works of righteousness. Therefore God hath prepared a supernaturall way, namely that we doe Ioh. 6. 19

beleue; not that God doth require nothing vnto happines, at the hands of men, (as Maister Hexter sayth) Lib. 1. pag. 21
 using only a naked faith (for Hope & Charity we may not exclude) but that without faith all other things are as nothing; this being the ground of those other diuine vertues. The principall object of faith, is that eternall verity, which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom, in Christ; the highest object of hope, is that euermore lasting goodnes, which in Christ doth quicken the dead; the final object of charity, is that incomprehensible beauty, which shineth in the countenance of Christ, the Son of the liuing God. The first beginneth heere, with a weak apprehension of things not seene, and endeth in the beholding of God in the world to come. The second beginneth heere, with a trembling expectation of things far remoued, and as yet, but only heard of; and endeth with a reall, and actuall fruition, of that which no tongue is able to expresse. The third beginneth heere, with a weak inclination of hart, towards him, vnto whom, we are not able to approach, and endeth with an endless vision; the mystery wherof, is higher, then the reach of the thoughts of men. And howsoeuer the apprehension, of that righteousness, whereby man is iustified, be properly but the worke of one, yet we dare not (neither doe any learned in our Church) make faith to be made of other vertues; and therefore it is so much the more strange, that you follow the error, which our adversaries have accused vs for, as though it were an opinion holden by our Church. In this article against Maister Hexter, you say, that God requireth no more at the hands of men, vnto

Epist. 13.

* Fides & sine
& ante charitate
iustificat.

Luth. in 2. ad

Ga.

Luth. tom. 3. prop.

3. Fides nisi sit

sine ullis etiam

minimis operibus

non iustificat,

imo non est fides,

In Anti. concil.

ad ar. 11. sess. 6.

Mc. an. 10.

Brent.

Clemens.

Calvin. lib. 3.

Inst. cap. 16.

Necessitas pra-

esentia non effi-

cientia.

Gratia saluamur

sed non a sine

bonis operibus.

Clem. Alexand.

9. Strom.

* In cap. 2. lar.

annot. 11.

* In Mat. 23.

annot. 3.

* 2. Cor. 7. 10

* In Matt. 15.

annot. 3. Rhem.

Tet.

happinesse; then a naked beleefe. And a little after; We claime nothing, by any dutie we do, or can do, or any vertue which wee find in our selues, but onely by that naked faith, &c. In these assertions (which in my opinion are repugnant to our Church) and in the best construction, make but a harsh sound; what do you else, but discover y error, which they of the Church of Rome, by a mistaking, haue thought vs to hold? as though it were our doctrine, that wee could be iustified, by a faith that were meere naked?

Luther struing to shew how lide our works, did in the merit of mans saluation, speaketh somewhat harshly, when he saith; * Faith without & before we haue charitie, doth iustifie. And in another place (both which are not vniuallly called in question by those of the Church of Rome) he saith; Faith vyles it be without euen the least good works, doth not iustify; nay, it is no faith. But M. Caluin speaketh in this, better then either Luther or you; Faith alone iustificieth, but not that faith which is alone. For if our Church held a naked faith (which none that were wise euer did) might not all the world iustly accuse vs as enemies to good works? The most of the learned in Germany held a necessitie of good works; not a necessitie of effecting, but a necessitie of presence: for we are saued doublelesse by grace, but (hauing yeers) we cannot ordinarily be saued vyles we haue good works. For faith which we teach to iustifie, is not void of good works; as Doctor * Fuller answereth to the Rhemes objection. And * therefore in another place, he saith; the elect are alwayes fruitfull of good works. From hence (seeing faith hath no assurance for it selfe either to God or to vs) we exhort in our sermons to good works, we perswade to humiliation, by fasting & weeping; which are (if they be truly penitent) meanes to blot out sin, though Gods vspeakable and vnderferued mercie. For as Saint * Paul saith; Godly sorrow causeth repentance vnto saluation, not to be repented of: And therefore saith Saint Hierom; fasting and sackcloth are the armor of repentance. And y men please God by fasting (saith Dr. * Fuller) as Anna, Tobie,

Tobias, Iudas, Hester, we doubt nothing as all, while we vs
it to the right end allowed of God; that is, hūbling of our
selues, & chastising of our bodies, that it might bee more
obedient to the Spirit, and seruient in prayer. Nay our so-
lemne faiths are, as M. Hooker saith, the splendor, and out-
ward glorie of our religion; forcible witnesses of ancient
truth; prouocations to the exercise of all pietie; shadowes
of our endlesse felicitie in heauen; and euermlasting records
and memorials vpon earth; which it is great pitie it is so
much neglected, because euen therein, they which cannot
be drawne, to harken vnto what we teach, might onely by
looking vpon that we do, in a maner reade whatsoeuer we
beleue. Now, that he saith, the attaiement vnto anie gra-
tious benefit of Gods vspeakable and vnderferued mercie,

the phrase of antiquitie, hath called by the name of *Meris*,
this is that, wherein you desire to be resolved. And surely,
he hath read little, who is ignorant, that the heathen Ma-
sters of the Latine tongue, and the Fathers for antiquitie,
nearest vnto those times, haue vsed the word (*Meris*) far in
another sence, then that whereunto the violence of some
cōstructions haue wrested it at this day. And *Aquinas* him-
selfe vnderstandeth by the name of *meris*, not a worke not
due, which should deserue a reward; but a worke which
mercifully, and by the goodnes of God a reward follow-
eth. The phrase of the Latine doth properly make one to

meris of another, and as it were to bind him to him, who
doth any thing, which pleaseth and delighteth him, for
whom it is done. Thus that place in the epistle to the He-
brues, To do good, and to distribute forget not, for with
such sacrifice God is well pleased. Where they of *Rome*,
following the Latine (*promeretur*) say promerited, shew-
ing that they meant nothing els, in ancient time, by merit.
But their delight, allowance, and contentment, which God
taketh in those good things we do, and so rewardeth them.

And Doctor *Fully* confesseth that *Primasius*, who was
Saint *Augustine* scholler, vsed the same word, *promeretur*, as
it was taken amongst the vulgar at that day, farre diffe-

Meriting for
obtaining: so in
the Confessi-
on of Witten-
berge.

Casoban in Pl.
epist.

Mereri stipendia.

Cal. ins. lib. 3.

cap. sect. 2.

Vsissim (salar)

possum et usque

clis scriptores,

atque utram

vocule minus (a-

busu) (so that it

properly signi-

feth other-

wise servari ma-

teriam posteri

non prauissem.

mark the word

(*prauissem*)

gaue but only

occasion.

Heb. 13.

pleased.

44 Article 7. *The vertue of Works.*

ring from the sense wherein it is nowe vsed. Thus much briefly, may serue for answer in this point; that faith is not alone, though alone it iustifie; that though a man sinne (if he repent) his faith may saue him; that there are vses, (nay excellent vses) of good works, though they do not saue vs; and last of all, if posteritie had not corrupted the word merit, that we would not be afraid, to speake in the phrase of antiquitie, and call our vertuous attainment (by mercie of grace) by the name of merit.

ARTICLE VII.

The vertue of works.

AS goodnesse, so truth being but one, whatsoever is opposite (be it neuer so carefully obserued) in the course of a long streame, at the last foldeth it selfe in a contradiction. For falshood hath no more strength, to proue a truth; then truth, hath weaknesse, to begget a lie. Then the ground of all true assertions, concurring immoueably in that one first truth, of which all other inferior are but branches; whatsoever goeth about to disproue that, must of necessitie, in his owne parts bee diuers, and imply a contrarietie, seeing it laboureth to infringe the certainty of that, which eternally, and vchangeably, is but one. Hence commeth it, that vnskilfull men (the grounds of whose opinions are but the vncertainties of their owne ignorance) are thought to want memorie, whilst they contradict themselves; when indeed, the defect is in iudgment, which cannot make truth the ground of their knowledge, from which if they swarue neuer so little, they doe not sooner oppugne others, then crosse themselves; truth admitting no coherence of contrarieties, seeing it selfe, is but onely one. From this hath proceeded, that oversight of a great number, who speaking first, against a truth viced by others; come at length, to speake euen directly, against themselves. Thus you that in the former Article, disputed of faith, naked and destitute of all good works, make

make your next step to those good works that do accompany faith. Where I vnderstand not (but perhaps you do) why you call them good, if they arise not naturally out of faith; or why you call that faith naked, which is accompanied with these good works. But doubtlesse there being a morall goodnes, euen where there is want of supernatural light; and the most certaine token of that goodnes being, if the general perswasion of all men do so account it; it can not chuse, but seeme strange, that the approbation of these, should in your opinion be applied to those works that are done out of faith, after man is iustified; seeing there is a good (as M. Hooker saith) that doth follow vnto all things by obseruing the course of their nature; yet naturall agents cannot obtaine either reward, or punishment; for amongst creatures in this world, only mans obseruation of the law of his nature (because he hath wil) is righteousness; only mans transgression sin. For euen to doe that, which nature telleth vs we ought (howsoeuer we know it) must needs be acceptable in Gods sight. How this, vttered out of great iudgment to another purpose (namely, that good things are done, and allowed, whereof we haue other direction then Scripture) is by you wrested against the articles of our Church, either concerning the perfection of works, which are with faith, or the goodnes of works, without faith; to say plainly, I cannot yet vnderstand. Therefore as the dealing is vnequall, to make him say what you list, so the aduantage is too great, to make him an aduersary to a cause of your own making; when the whole scope of his speech is to another purpose. For there is no indifferēt reader, but had he considered what M. Hooker speaketh, & to what end, in those places by you alleaged; he must of necessity haue wondered at your sharpe and acute iudgements, that would without blushing aduenture to alleage him to that end. But an opinio doubtlesse that these things wold neuer be examined, gaue that confidence to your first motion, which consideration would haue hindered, if you had but once dreamed to haue bin called in question. Wee

Hook. lib. 2.
sect. 8.

Art. 7.

should not therefore need in this, much to defend ~~him~~ but briefly resolve you, what our Church holdeth, (and truly) in this point. The articles of our Church which ye thinke are oppugned, are two; first that the fruits of faith, cannot abide the severity of Gods iustice; that man out of 2 faith, doth good workes, which though they make vs not iust, yet are both acceptable, and rewardable: I doubt not but it is a truth, wherof if ye had not bin perswaded, this letter of yours (profitable (as you think) to the Church and pleasing to God) as all the rest of your writings in that kinde, had lien buried, vnborne in those rotten sepulchers, from whence into the world they did first come, whilest we are by that intermediat iustice of Christ, made righteous, and haue obtained a free remission of our sins, that we are tearmed iust; there is with this mercy ioyned the Holy-ghost; which dwelling in vs maketh vs fruitfull to good workes, this remuuing all parts from our naturall corruption, reformeth vs to a pure, and willing obedience vnto that reuealed will, which is the rule of all that we ought to doe; yet seeing we are clothed with corruption, there are euen in our best actions, those remainders of imperfection, which serue, to teach vs thankfulness, and humility, both arising, from the consideration of our own weakenes. And I doubt not, but euen in this poynt, many of the Church of Rome (whose humiliation in their penitency of heart, seemeth far to exceed ours) are of this opinion, that euen the best action performed in their whole life (as there are yet some few monuments spared from the couetous hand) if all points of it were considered with a streight view, sitting euen the least circumstances, which closely insinuate themselves, out of our corruptions, into our actions, they would (I say) confesse, that there is something which tasteth of the flesh; which corruption, if either for want of a strict consideration we see not, or through a selfeloue could pardon, yet it is not able, in the feeblenes of his owne nature, to abide the exact triall, & severity of Gods iudgement. That law, the least transgression wherof

1 is sin, is sayd to be fulfilled three waies; first in Christ, and
 so all the faithfull are said to fulfill the lawe, hauing his o-
 bedience imputed to them. Secondly, it is fulfilled by a Rom. 8.
 diuine acceptatiō, for God accepteth our obedience begun, 1. Cor. 1.
 as if it were perfect, seeing what imperfections are in it, are
 not imputed to vs. For it is al one, not to be, & not to be im-
 puted; blessednes being the reward of both: And we know
 that there is no condemnation to those that are in Christ Psal. 12. 1.
 Iesus. Thirdly, it is fulfilled by vs; an error I thinke scarce Rom. 8

3 any do hold, sauing only the Anabaptists. For that eternal
 wisdom, which hath ledde man by the law vnto Christ, Diligens Domi-
 hath set those bounds, which all men haue broken, (the nus Deus sa-
 first commandement and the last) to include all, as guilt um &c.
 ty of the breach of the whole law: For our knowledge 2. Non carni-
 being but in part, it is not possible (saith Saint piscet
 Austine) Aug. Tom. 3.
 that our loue can be perfect. And therefore we conclude de Sp. et lit.
 the first point, according to the article of our Church, cap. vii.
 from which there is no fillable in Master Hooker that is
 different; that our workes though they be good, and so
esteemed, and rewarded, yet they cannot abide the ius-
tice of the lawe, and the severity of Gods iudgement.

The second point is, whether the workes which are done
 before the grace of Christ, are not only not acceptable to
 God, but also haue the nature of sinne. In this we must
 vse some care; for whitest men iustly disagreeing, haue
 equally laboured to be differēt one from another, both in
 the end, haue bin equally distant from the truth. That there
 are excellent graces in the heathen, no man doubteth;
 and he must needs be far from reason, and sense, who ma-
 keth no difference betwixt the iustice, moderation, and e-
 quity of Titus and Traian, and the fury, violence, and ty-
 ranny of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; betwixt the vn-
 cleane lusts of Tiberius, and the continency in this respect
 of Vespasian; in one word, betwixt the obseruation, and
 the breach of lawes. For there is that difference betwixt
 iust, and vniust, that euen the frame of nature (where sense
 wanteth) acknowledge a well being, by the obseruation
 of

of what it ought; and therefore, much more in those good works, which because they missed of the right scope, wee dare not call by the name of true, perfect Christians vertues; yet for their very action, we are content, (so long as they swarue not from the righteousness of the lawe of nature) to giue them leaue to be called by a better name, then only sinnes; and yet for all this; no man taketh them, to be much better in the true severity, of a hard construction; for those that are not regenerate, although they sin in their best obseruation of the morall lawe, yet it is much better to performe those offices, then to performe them not; seeing ^b a part of that indeour, though it be not meere righteousness, yet it is lesse sinne. We must therefore remember, that a worke is considerable, either in respect of the substance; or in regard of the manner of doing. In respect of the worke, all the actions of infidels are not sin; seeing they performe those things, which are commanded, by the law of nature, of nations, of God; nay they are so far, in this respect, from being sins, that as (Saint *Austin* saith) God doth plentifully reward them. But concerning the manner of working, all their actions are sin; as proceeding from a corrupt fountaine, a hart that wanteth true faith; and directed to an ende of lesse value, then he is, whose glory ought to be the end of all we doe. This is confessed even by our aduersaries themselves, with whom seeing we doe agree, there can be no suspicion that we should dissent from that which our Church holdeth; and this may serue rather to tell you what in these points, is the iudgement of our Church, then to defend him, whose words you haue wrested, to a far different sense,

^b *Zach. de relig.*
lib. 1. cap. 6.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VIII.

Works of supererogation.

Heneerenes, oftentimes to euill, is warrant enough for suspition, to accuse of euill; and because all errors, are not equally distant from truth, some men in their true assertions, are supposed, by weake iudgements, not to differ at all from error. From hence commeth it, that those men (who haue no other iudgement but zeale) (which is the best excuse I can make for your accusation in this article) haue run so far, with a desire of safety, from those opinions that were thought dangerous; that they haue come at length, vnto those that were much more dangerous in truth; Which practise, though it argue a good care, yet it proceedeth from a timorous nature, wanting the ability, to put a difference in the causes of true feare; so that this circumspection, is but cowardlinesse; as he that were loth to be taken amongst his enimies trenches, would get himselfe so far distant, that he would outrun, euen the vtmost limits of his owne armie. Thus haue you dealt in this article; fearing to approoue any thing that might tend to supererogation, you haue misliked euen the allowance of those works, which are good, and yet not commanded; for (say you) to hold, as Master Hooker doth, that God approoveth more then he commandeth, what is it else; but to scatter euen the graines of Popery, and to lead men, to those arrogant works of supererogation. Herein your feare; if it would haue giuen you leaue, to haue looked behinde you, it may be peraduenture, you would not haue run away in such haste; especially in cases of no great danger. And therefore giue me leaue, to tell you, that there is no treachery, no danger, no cause of flying, from this opinion. All the vnforced actions of men, are voluntarie; and all voluntarie actions, tending to their end, haue choice; and all choice presupposeth the know-
ledge

50 Article. 8. *Works of supererogation.*

ledge of some cause, wherefore we make it; and therefore it is no absurditie to thinke that all actions of men, indued with the vse of reason, are generally either good, or euill. And although whatsoeuer is good, the same is also approued of God, yet according to the sundry degrees of goodnes, the kinds of diuine approbation are in like sort multiplied: for some things are good, yet in so meane a degree of goodnes, that men are only not disproued, nor disallowed of God, for them: as that no man hateth his owne flesh; it is a matter of approbation, and allowance; but of no great, or singular acceptance. So saith our Sauiour, if you do good vnto them that do so to you; the verie Publicans themselues do as much: Wherin to come short of them, as it were a great vice, so not to exceed the, is no great vertue. Some things in such sort are allowable, that they be also required as necessary to saluation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper necessitie finall; so that without performance of such, wee cannot by ordinarie course be saued; nor yet by any meanes be excluded from life, if we obserue those. As nature gaue light, vnto the former; so the Scripture is a guide to teach these: wherein because all faile, it is the obedience, and merit onely of one, that must make all righteous, that must be saued. Some things there are, although not so required of necessitie, that to leaue them vndone, excludeth from saluation; yet notwithstanding are of so great dignitie and acceptance with God, that most ample reward in heauen is laid vp for them. Of these we haue no commandement, in nature, or Scripture, that doth exact them, in particular at our hands; yet those motives there are in both, which may serue to draw our minds, most effectually to the performance of them. In this kind there is not the least action, but it doth somewhat make to the accessorie augmentation of our blisse; which men haue as much reason to desire, as to desire that they may be blessed; no measure of blessednesse hauing power to content, sauing onely where the blessed wanteth capacitie to receiue greater. Vpon
this

Hook lib. 2. pag.
122.

Eph. 5. 29.
* *Matt. 5. 46.*

this dependeth, whatsoever difference there is between the states of Saints in glorie. Hereunto we referre whatsoever belongeth vnto the highest perfection (for all perfection in this life is not equall) of man, by way of seruice toward God: hereunto that seruor, and first loue of Christians, did bend it selfe, causing them to sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles feete; hereunto Saint *Paul*, vndoubtedly did aime, in so far abridging his owne libertie, and exceeding that which the bond of necessarie, and enioyned dutie tied him vnto, to ease those Churches, to whom he preached, with his handie labour; knowing that although it were not a duty which hee was commaunded, yet it was an advantage to his preaching, and acceptable to God; who doubtlesse approueth much more, then he doth commaund. Thus when a man may liue in the state of matrimonie, seeking that good thereby, which nature principally desireth; to make rather choice, of a contrarie life, in regard of Saint *Pauls* iudgment, he doth that which is manifestly allowed, and yet not commaunded in Gods word; because without anie breach, he might doe otherwise. Thus when a man who might lawfully possesse his riches, yet willingly doth bestow them, to religious vices, vertuously embracing that pouertie, which he esteemeth as an advantage to eternall riches; doth that which argueth a greater perfection, and for which he hath warrant, though no precept at all; because that which is a great vertue in him, is not a fault simply in those that do not the like. Precepts and counsels hauing this difference, that the one is of absolute necessitie, the other left vnto our free election; where both tending to the same end, yet in this differ; that both tend not after the same maner: both looking at the meanes, but the one after a more exquisite, and excellling perfection. For every man being placed in this life, betwixt the things of this world, and spirituall good things, the more hee cleaueth to these, the more perfect and excellent he is; and yet to cast them away who

Act. 4. 37

1. Thel. 1. 9.

1. Cor. 7.

Hook. lib. 2.
pag. 140.

32 Article 8. *Works of supererogation.*

ly, is no precept of necessitie, but an aduise of greater perfection. He that obeyeth not a precept, is gultie of deserved punishment; but he that faileth of these counsels, onely wanteth, without sinne, that measure of perfection. For it is not a fault not to vow, but to vow, and to performe, it is a praise. Hee that performeth the one, shall haue greater glorie, but he that faileth in the other (without repentance) shall haue certaine punishment. Neither is it said, saith Saint *Austine*, as thou shalt not commit adulterie, thou shalt not kill; so thou shalt not marie, for those are exacted, this is offered. This if it bee done, it is praised; those vnlesse they bee done, they are punished. For saith Saint *Hierome*, where it is but aduise, there is left a freedome; but where there is a precept, there is a necessitie. Precepts are common to all; counsels the perfection of some few. The precept being obserued, hath a reward; being not obserued, a punishment: but a counsell, or aduise, not obserued, hath no punishment; and being obserued, hath a greater reward. In these points all haue not holden the same opinions; some thought these counsels to be of the same necessitie with precepts; as those heretikes called *Apostolici*, mentioned by Saint *Austine* and *Epiphanius*. Others esteemed them as things indifferent, and of no greater perfection. Others as things forbidden, which error is accused by some of our aduersaries, to bee an opinion of our Church. He that amongst vs of learning is most earnest in this point, is *Peter Martyr*; and all that anie of them say, is but this; that these counsels are sinne, if we esteeme them as meritorious of themselves; that they are not sinful, but sometimes foolish; these men rather looking at the follies, which hath accompanied the superstition of some few, then the vertuous perfection, which attendeth vpon the thing it selfe. Nay, there is none of any sound iudgement in our Church, which doth not thinke, that willing pouertie, humble obedience, and true chastity, are things verie commendable, and do bring with them great aduantage

tage

* Non est criminis non vouisse, sed vouisse & reddisse est laudis. Aug. de virg. cap. 14.

† Illa exiguntur, ista offeruntur, si fiant ista laudantur, nisi fiant illa damnantur. Aug.
* Hieron. ad Eusebium.

Her. 40.

Her. 61.

Iouinianus, Vigilantius.

Aug. de ci. 81.

1

2

3

tage, to the true perfection of a Christian life; nor that we can supermerit, by these, more then we ought; but that by these, we do more, then without these we should: for nature, common wealths, and religion, as they haue a being, so they refuse not a perfection, and a being well. *Proficientem coronabo, non proficientem non quia. Chrysost.*

ARTICLE IX.

None free from all sinne.



I cannot chuse but seeme strange, that this should bee an act of many, which in the most fauourable construction, commeth far short of that wisdom which should be in one. But it may be peradventure (that as it falleth out in things naturall) actions are then best done, when one doth but one; distraction being a let to a finite power, and vsually arising from diuersitie of iudgements. For all not looking with the same eyes, nor following the like principles of vnderstanding, though they agree in the generall to reprehend, yet for the most part, they faile, in a particular resolution; of what they thinke worthe to bee reprehended. And therefore as in elections, whilest two of the worthiest are competitors, stiffe factions write themselves, in allowance of a third inferiour to both. It seemeth that you haue dealt so in this article, wherein either all your consents made a hindrance to what you meant, or a diuision made you agree to mislike a thing of the least importance. Wherin if you had not discovered a weaknes to be pitied, you might iustly haue expected an answer of more learning; but as men failing, eue in those things, wherein it is no great vertue not to faile, ad little vnto any man y shall direct the (because it is smal praise to teach that which is as shame not to know) so to omit our direction, eue where we wonder that any man should need it, must needs be esteemed in a high degree, an vnexcusable neglect of a necessarie duty. No man I thinke (not of those

those that are thought to be out of the compasse of the Church) maketh a doubt whether all men sin, leaving the redemption of man, & so the freedome from sin, to him only who was eternally the Son of God. It was as necessary that he should be without sin, as it is certaine that (except him) in many things we offend all. This is our frailty, that all of vs doe amisse which we know, and the best of vs do offend, when we know not; and therefore *David* with an humble hart, desired to be blessed, from his secret faults; making that euen a step, to keepe him from presumptuous sins. As it is therefore, an infirmity that we doe amisse in many things; so it is a vertue, that we would do amisse in nothing; this being the perfection of our country, & that the desire of our way: which because (clothed with corruption) we cannot attaine, we say daily (as we are taught) forgive vs our trespasses. And they pray in vaine, to haue sin pardoned, which seekt not also by prayer, to haue sin prevented; yea euery particular sin, except men can haue some transgression, wherewith they ought to haue truce.

Lib. 5. pag. 101. For although (saith Maister *Hasker*) we cannot be free from all sin collectiue, (that is generally, for so none was free sauing only Christ) in such sort that no part thereof shal be soild inherent in vs, yet distributiue at the least al great and greuous actmall offences, as they offer themselves one by one, both may, and ought by all meanes to be auoided; so that in this sense, to be preserved from all sin, is not impossible. This assertion, seemeth in your opinions to be vntue, and for prooffe you alledge, that we which are baptized, and regenerated, in many things do offend all; did euer Maister *Hasker* denie this? Nay in the very same place, are not these his words? In many things we doe all amisse. But say you if that be so, how can we auoide all great and greuous sins? Or if we can, why may we not be preserved also, from all small sins; and so being free from both small, and great, preserve our robe pure, to the coming of our Saviour Christ? In these few words, in my opinion, are three of the most strange, and most violent

• Psalm 19.

lent conclusions, that I haue ever read; and those, which are by no means agreeable to any Church. First we say, In many things we offend all; therefore say you, in all things we offend all. Secondly we say, we may auoid some particular great, & greuous sins; therefore say you, why not lesse also? as if it were all one, not to sin all, & not to sinne at all. Thirdly, we say; we are to pray, and hope to be preserved frō any & euery speciall sin; therefore say you, we may keep our robe pure, to the cōming of *Christ*. I would be loth to make euill arguments worse by repearing; and therefore I haue vsed a direct sincerity in rehearsing your owne words; wherein I shall not need, to bestow any labour to ouerthrow a ruinous building of such weakenes; but only to tell you, in these points, what is the iudgement, and sentence of the whole Church. First, no man doubteth but that all men are sinners; for all the imaginations of the thoughts of mans hart, are only euill continually. In iniquity are we borne and in sin are we conceaued; who can vnderstand his faults? For the hart is deceitfull, and wicked about all things, who can know it? For vnlesse a man bee borne, of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. And we are all by nature, the children of wrath. In one word, none are free from sin, but he whom the blessed Virgin conceaued, without the law of the flesh, rebelling against the law of the minde; as Saint *Austin* proueth most learnedly, by a cloud of witnesses of the ancient Fathers against *Julian* the *Pelagian*. Nay euen they of the Church of Rome, shew by their exorcising before baptisme, that they thinke none to be without sin; where we doe not now dispute of the lawfulness of that vse; but by that conclude that in this point, they hold a truth. So that the maine thing which you so seeme to mislike, is a thing not holden or defended (saying in some particular case, as the Virgin *Mary*) by any that I know; for euen that streame of original sin, hath ouerflowed all mankind, out of which daily proceede those great and innumerable multitudes

Gen. 6. 7.

Psal. 143.

Psal. 19. 12.

Ier. 17. 9.

Iohn. 3. 5.

Eph. 2. 3.

Lib. 1. c. 2.

Irenaus.

Cyprian.

Radicus.

Olympius.

Hilarius.

Ambros.

Innocent.

Greg. Naz.

Basil.

Chrysost.

Hieron.

of

of actual sin. You three false conclusions, seeme to establish a threefold error; contrary to the doctrine of all Churches; that are accounted Christian. First, that all sin is but one sin. Secondly, that all sins are equall. Thirdly, that all sins, are vnited. The first, making no diuision, of the kinds of sin; the second, no distinction of the qualities of sin; and the third, no difference, in committing sin. Against these, we say (and we hope warranted by truth) that sins, are of diuers kinds; of diuers degrees; of diuers natures; and that all are not, where one is. Sins then may be distinguished, in respect of the object against whom, God, our neighbour, our selfe; of the matter wherein, in the sole Ignorance, heresie; in the body, as the desires of the flesh; from the manner of committing; of Ignorance, Infirmitie, Malice; from the action it selfe; or our dutie; of omission, of commission. From the degrees, by which they rise, in the hart only; in the tongue, in the hands, or the worke it selfe. From the qualities of the persons; of *Saints*, which are veniall, not imputed; of the wicked, mortall, for which they shall be condemned. From the guilt; not pardonable, as the sin against the Holy ghost; pardonable, not crying, or crying sins; as the sheading of innocent blood; the affliction of the fatherlesse, or widow, the sin of Sodome; & last of all, the denying the laborers wages. These, are called crying sins, because for their greatness, they call aloud, for a great punishment. Others, make a distinction of the seauen Capitall, or deadly sins; which as we haue no great reason to admit, so we haue as little reason to disallowe; knowing that euen those are the heads and fountaines of all sins, of the second table. The second assertion, which we hold, is, that all sins are not equall; this was an opinion of the Stoicks, who desirous to seeme vnwilling, to commit the least, held an opinion that they were equall to the greatest; a good care, grounded vpon an euill reason. If a pilote (say they) ouerturned a ship full of gold; he sinned no more, then if he ouerturned a ship full of strawe; for although there be a difference

Delicta à delinquendo, facinorosa faciendo.

Gen. 4.
Exod. 21
Gen. 19
Lam. 5. 4

difference in the losse, yet the vnskillfulness, or negligence is all one. Or if two erre, from the scope, euen he that misseth a litle, as well erreth, as he that misseth a great deale. But as in the former of shipwrack, the fault was greater, because he had greater reason, to make him circumspect; reason telling vs that where we haue mo, and stronger motiues to doe any thing, there we haue lesse excuse, and the sin greater if we doe it not: for the latter, he erreth as well, but not asmuch; seeing both, shooting at one marke, it is not al one to be a foote, & a rod wide. And therefore that lawe, that forbad but one thing (thou shalt not kil) forbad three things, as Christ expoundeth it; anger to thy brother; to call him foole; to offer him violence; these hauing every one as their seuerall degrees, so their seuerall punishment. For who will say that the first is as great a fault, as the second; or the third as small as the first; for doubles, things that are all forbidden, doe in their owne nature admit more or lesse. And howsoever in some sort, vertues are called equall; yet vices are not: for all vertues, from the vanity of the world, tend but to one perfection, (either to reason, as the Philosophers thought) (or to say better, to the reueiled will of God) which is the rule of good, and euill; but finnes departing from this leadeth vnto diuers vanities, in diuers kinds. Neither are vertues all equall simply; but by a kinde of proportion; because they all proceede from the loue of God, and all tend vnto his glory: otherwise in it selfe, faith is better then téperance, & one vertue may in the same man, be far more excellent, then in many others. As faith in the *Centurion*; obedience in *Abraham*; patience in *Sab*; the consideration of this inequality of sinne, as it acquainteth vs, with those steps that sinne maketh in vs; so it causeth vs, not to despair, that we haue committed some, but to hope, and to be thankfull, that we haue escaped greater. Assuring our selues, (if we be not ourselues wanting) that though wee cannot avoid all finnes; yet we may, and shall avoid, all great and presumptuous finnes. This heresie, then wee leaue

Aug. ber. 82.

*Peccatum est
utendis frui, &
fruedis uti.*

leauē to his first Authours *Iouinian*, and the rest; and so come to the last point: Because Saint *Iames* saith, hee that keepeth the whole law, and offendeth in one, is guiltie of all; Some thought, all sinnes to be imputed vnto him that committed anie one; but Saint *Iames* onely telleth vs, that God exacteth a keeping of them all. The Schoolemen, they interpet this place thus; In all sin, are two things; a departure from God, & a comming to the creature; which made S. *Austine* call sinne, an vsing of that which wee ought to enioy, and an enioying of that, which wee ought but to vse. So that in respect of the departure, it is true that S. *Iames* saith, he departeth as well, from God, that committeth but one sin, as he that committeth many, but not so farre. Therefore to impose this vpon vs, were to adde euen to those that are oppressed already, a burthen farre greater, then the law doth; for by obedience of the diuine lawe, wee tend from manie to one; but by disobedience, from one to many; and those diuers: and therfore though vertues, haue amongst themselues, their vnion, and consent; yet vices, haue their dissent, nay their opposition. So that this, then, is the conclusion; that though no man bee without all sin, yet many are without many presumptuous sinnes: which because through prayers, and good meanes they auoid; it followeth not an vtter exclusion of all sinne; nor because they commit the least, it followeth not, that they offend equally, as if they committed all.

ARTICLE X.

Of Predestination.

LEaſt you ſhould be like thoſe, whoſe humility ye are loth to imitate; ye haue drawne your readers in this Article, to a ſerious conſideration of a deepe point; letting them vnderſtand, that yee are able, not onely to aduiſe ſoberitie, to ſuch raſh preſumers (as in your opi-
ons

ons M. Hooker is) but also to direct them, in those points, wherein, in your iudgements, they are much deceiued. That there is no man, how excellent soeuer, but without humilitie may easily erre; I can as willingly confesse it, as I commend such, whom I see carefull to giue aduise vnto those, that haue gone astray. The one being the punishment of pride, to teach sobrietie; the other the power of their learning, to shew humility; but that either he hath done the one, or you the other, in this Article, it is more then (as yet) I see any iust inducements to beleue. And I am sorie, that things of principall excellencie, should bee thus bitten at, by men, whom it is like, God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning, so better vses. For if all men had that indifferencie of mind, that the greatest part of their forces were imployed, for the enlarging of that kingdome, whereof all of vs desire to bee subiects; we should easily discern, that a curious searching into that will, which is not reuealed, serueth but to breed a contempt, of that which is reuealed vnto vs. Man desireth rather to know, then to doe; nay to know, euen those things which do not concerne him, rather then to do that, for the neglect whereof, he must giue an account. From hence commeth it to passe, that what the Schooles haue curiously sought out, concerning the nature of Gods wil; the Pulpits, nay the stalles of Artificers haue vndertaken to decide them all. So that those things, which once were but the deep amazement of some few, are now become the visuall doctrine, and the vulgar consideration of many: where, that is not so much to be learned which we search, & cannot comprehend; as that which we might comprehend, but do not search. Following, euen that first euil exchange, for eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, to deprive our selues of the tasting of the tree of life. So, that which nature once made a disease, the continuance of that disease, hath made it nature; for euen that light, which man whilst he wanteth liueth in perpetuall darkenesse, is a light by our weakenesse not

*Arbor scientia
campusque prius
arbor vita.
Emanant.*

Lex inuestigati-

1. Tim. 6. 1.
Inuestigabiles
via eius.
Rom. 11.
Phil. 97. 1

Prou. 25,

Eccle. 3. 12, 13,
14, 15, 16.

possible to bee attained vnto, and those pathis, which in our blindnesse we grope after with so much desire, they are wayes not possible by mans weaknesse, to bee found out. For there is a cloud and darkenesse which are round about him, and thicke mists to couer him; for we are without proportion inferiour to that power that hath first made vs; not equall, not like. This being the iust recompence of him that searcheth out that Maiestie, in the end to be ouerwhelmed with the same glory. Our greatest knowledge in this, saith Saint *Cyprian*, is to confesse our ignorance; for those acts, that are of this nature, there is greater holinesse to belecue them, then to know them. Truth lieth in the bottome, as *Democritus* speaketh; and as *Pindarus* saith, about our minds there hang innumerable etroures; therefore the counsell of the son of *Strachis* is to be followed; Seeke not out the things that are too hard for thee, neither search the things rashly, which are too mightie for thee; but what God hath commanded thee, thinke vpon that with reuerence, and bee not curious in manie of his workes; for it is not needfull; for thee to see with thine eyes, the things that are secret; be not curious in superfluous things, for many things are shewed vnto thee about the capacitie of men; the meddling with such, hath beguiled manie, and an euill opinion hath deceiued their iudgment; thou canst not see without eyes. Yet for all this to bee absolutely either ignorant, or carelesse, of those things that concerne vs; are no warrants for humilitie; but euidences of our slouth: The world at this day hath two sorts of men; whom though we need not to respect much, yet we are willing euen to giue them a reason of what wee do; which though peraduenture they challenge at our hands, yet wee demand not of them, a reason of what they surmise. The first sort are sensuall and carelesse; neither respecting the will of God, of vs, or towards vs: these for the most part, vnderstand nothing but earthly things; whom if you remoue to matters of a higher reach, you onely arme them against your selfe, & awake them

them, to shew an vnſufferable contempt of all vertue. For that which they thinke painefull to themſelues, being idolaters to the bellie, that they ſuppoſe partly impoſſible to others; and that which for their owne diſneſſe, they cannot eaſily learne, that they imagine (but falſly) that others can as hardly teach. The ſecond ſort, wiſer then theſe, thinke that we ought to ſearch, what God will haue vs to do; but what he will do with vs, or what he hath decreed, or determined of vs, that they thinke, ought wholly to be neglected by vs. In theſe two errors, there is this difference; that the dangers being equall, the reaſons are not equall, that do moue both; ſeeing man hath mo reaſons, to perſwade him to know too little, then to know too much. Therefore the Church of England, calleth Predeſtination vnto life, the eternall purpoſe of God, whereby before the foundations of the world were laid, he conſtantly decreed, by his counſel vnto vs vnknown, to deliuer from the curſe and deſtruction, them, whom he choſe in Chriſt out of mankind, and as veſſels made vnto honour, through Chriſt to bring them to eternall ſaluation; whereupon, they who are indowed with ſo excellent a benefit of God, are called according to his purpoſe, and that by his Spirit, working in a fit time: wherein if any thing, in his generall wil be oppoſite to that which ſecretly he hath determined of vs, it is neither a contrarietie in that eſſence which is but one; neither anie warrant for vs, to bee defectiue in our charitie, which muſt imitate his general inclination to ſaue all. And howſoeuer he graunt not thoſe prayers, which we make, for thoſe who are not predeſtinate, becauſe there is a more ſecret will that hath determined the contrarie; yet notwithstanding, euen theſe prayers conformable to his general inclination, are in themſelues without ſin; they are our duties; & acceptable to God. For in God there is a wil reueiled; which not to do is ſin; & not reueiled, which we may do & yet ſin. And therefore, it muſt needs ſeeme ſtrange, that it is made a queſtion by any, how God eternally predeſtinateth

Art. 17.

Epist. pag. 16.

Psal. 36. 7.

Ish. 2. 46.

Lib. 1. dist. 45.

In. Ench. 102.

103.

1. Tim. 2. 4

stinateth by a constant decree, them whom hee calleth and saueth, and yet hath a generall inclination to saue all. A matter easily answered, if we doe but remember a two-fold will; It is not then a foresight of any thing, that occasioned his will otherwise; It is not any generall election, altered vpon a speciall cause; It is nothing either in vs, or in himselfe, that maketh this decree, either to be at all, or to be any other, sauing only one. We must know therefore, that the will of God is secret; which therefore in scripture is compared to a deepe; or reueiled, which must be the rule of those actions which we ought to doe: we may indeuour to doe against the first and not sinne, as *Abraham* in offering *Isaac*; I say indeuour, for no man can do against it; as also fulfill the other, and yet sin, as *Indar*. This diuision of the will of God, made by many others, (though in other tearmes) serueth both to answer such doubts, as usually arise out of this darknes; as also, fully to satisfy those slender obiections, which you haue framed in this point. *Damasce* deuidenth the will into antecedent and consequent; *Peter Lombard*, into his good pleasure, and the signe of it; others, into a will absolute, or conditionall; others, into wil of vs, or by vs, to be done; *S. Austin*, into a most omnipotent, and most powerfull wil, and into a will not so powerfull, that it euer commeth to passe: all these diuisions, concurring in one, and the selfe same thing, to teach vs, that there be parts some reueiled some secret of that, which in his owne nature, can no more be diuers or many, then it is possible for the essence of the Godhead, to be more then one. But how is it then (say you) that God willeth all men to be saued? Is it a constant decree, or only an inclination? That he thus willeth, there is no man doubteth; and although some with the restraint of the word (all) vnderstand it, of his eternall, vchangeable, secret decree; yet we affirme, that with a conditionall will (which ever implyeth faith and obedience;) with a will of the signe, antecedent, vneffectuall, reueiled, he willeth all men to be saued. Who therefore
that

that they are not, it is not his decree, but their own fault. And although we say, as Maister *Hooker* doth, that God willeth many things conditionally, yet if wee speake properly, all things that God willeth, hee willeth simply; and therefore all things that God willeth, must bee: the condition being, not in respect of the wil, but the manifestation of it. For it is no more possible, that there should be a wil in God conditional, then that his knowledge, and his wisdom should not be eternall: and yet in respect of vs, who must be ruled by his law, it is conditional. God sometimes commandeth what hee will not haue done; not that he is contrary in his wil, but that his wil as yet is not, wholly reueiled: The matter of predestination was neuer fully handled before the time of *Pelagius*, whose heresies gaue occasion to Saint *Austin*, and others to confirme vs in this point; wherein though I confesse I vnwillingly labour at this time, yet I doubt not to affirme (which may serue in steed of answere to content you) that the predestination of God, is eternall, not conditional; immutable; not for works foreseen, and that those, which God hath determined (though his predestination doe not take away second causes) certainly must come to passe. Neither is that any variableness, as you ouer boldly seeme to insinuate, that he inclineth one way, & decreeth another; for certainly saith S. *Ambrose*, he willeth al men to be saued, if they wil themselves; for he that hath giuen a law to al, doubtles hath excluded none. Neither is here any acceptatio of persons, that he hath chosen some, & not others; for that is acceptio of persons, saith S. *Austin*, whe things to equals, equally due, are not equally diuided; but where those things are diuided, they are not due, but only of meere liberality bestowed, there this inequality is without iniustice, or acceptation of persons: It being in the power of a creditor, that hath two debtors, to exact his due of the one without iniustice, and meere of his bounty, to forgiue the other. If you goe further in this point, to leade me into that depth, that lamentably hath

swal.

*Bel. Tom. 3. de
grat. et lib. arb.
lib. 2. cap. 12. 13
Aqui. par. 1. quest.
23.
By his reuealed
will.*

64 Article. II. Of the visible Church, &c.

Rom. 9. 10

swallowed vp many thousands, I say with S. *Austin*; thou oh man, dost thou expect an answer of me, and I am a man also? therefore let vs rather both heare him, who saith, oh man who art thou, that dost answer God? reason thou, I wil maruaile; dispute thou, I wil beleeeue; and say, oh how vnsearchable are his waies, and his Iudgements past finding out!

ARTICLE XL

The visible Church and the Church of Rome.



IN the vehement dissensions of factions that are opposite; there is not a labour vsually that reapeth either lesse fruite, or lesse thanks, then a charitable perswasion to a reconcilment; which peraduenure hath bin the principal cause, why both parties, looking with a iealous eie, at the indifferent perswasions of a third, haue continued both enmies in themselues, and yet the third, suspected as a friend to neither. This whilest men haue done in kingdomes; their conclusions of peace, haue faintly languisht; all sides earnestly wishing the thing, but suspecting those, who were agents to intreate, a perswasion to it: this in the Church, some men haue done, both in former times and of late, with more charity, then either learning or successe; so that in the end, both parties haue taken offence, at the mentio of a reconcilment. That the Church is at variance in it selfe, and so hath continued a long time, I thinke there is no man doubteth; and surely we are all perswaded, that vnity, and peace, are not fitter for any society in the world, then for that, which is called by the name of Church: how this might be effected, it hath bin the care of very wisemen; who though they haue found little apparence of successe, by reason of those badde offi-

ces, which vncharitable minds haue performed, yet they haue not ceased, to wishe in the behalfe of the Church, as *David* did for *Ierusalem*, Oh that it were, as a City built, at vnitie in it selfe. Priuate contentions, are then furthest from all hope of agreement, when both parties, equally standing vpon tearmes of superiority, earnestly contend, which is most excellent; and that neither haue committed fault. In what straits the Church is, and hath bin in all times, it may easily be gathered, in that as yet, men are not resolu'd to whom it belongs principally to procure her peace. Some are of opinion that princes must, and ought to prouide for the good and welfare of the common-wealth; but as for religion, they may lawfully permit to euery man what his fancy desireth; so that the peace of their realmes be not thereby troubled. This once was the error of the heathens, who admitting all sects of Philosophers, accounted it their honor that they refused none. Wherupon saith Pope *Leo*, this City (speaking of *Rome*) ignorant of the author of her aduancement, whilest she hath ruled almost ouer al nations, hath basely bin a seruant to the errors of them al, and seemed to her selfe to haue intertain'd a great religion, because she hath not refused the falshood of any. This made *Themistius* the Philosopher, (as *Socrates* reporteth) to perswade *Valens* the Emperor, that the variety of sects was a thing much pleasing to God, seeing by that meanes he was worshipped after diuers manners. Thus though *Constantine* the great did at the first, (whose fact we will not at this time examine) yet afterward, he commanded all the temples of the Idols to be shut vp, and the Christian religion to be only vsed; whose sonnes *Constantius* and *Constantine* so far followed (as *Saint Austin* saith) the example of their Father, that *Constantine* threatned banishment to al those, who rested not in the determination of the Nicene council. The contrary was practised by the Emperors *Iouinian*, *Valens*, and *Iulian*; who giuing a liberty to all hereticks, sought nothing more, then the ouerthrow of the vnitie

Psalm. 122

Aut. de ciuitat. Dei. lib. 18. cap. 11.

Ser. 2. de S. S. Petro et Paulo.

Lib. 4. hist. cap. 17

Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

Optatus lib. 3. cont. Paganos. Epist. 166. ad Rufinum lib. 10. cap. 5.

cap. 5. lib. 1. de heretico.

66 Article. II. Of the visible Church, &c.

Greg. 33. 4. epist.
32.

Flao. lib. 5. pag.
184.

De officio p[ri]u[ati] viri
Tom. 1. de eccl.
lib. 3. cap. 19.

of the Church. But wisemen haue euer seene, that the peace and tranquillitie of the common wealth, seldome or neuer ariseth, but out of the concord and agreement of the Church it selfe. The dissensions whereof, as they seme to hinder religion, so they kindle that flame, wherewithall doubtlesse in the end, the common wealth it selfe, must needs perishe. But how farre all sides are from allowance of reconciliation, both the times present can testifie too well, and the ages to come must needs witnesse; which shall possesse a Church, as sonnes doe the inheritance of contentious parents, the best part whereof is wasted in vnecessary sutes: The sound knowledge of religion, as well perishing in the midst of dissention, as the true practise doth faile, by the plentiful abundance of too much peace. There haue bene in the world from the verie first foundation thereof, but three religions; *Paganisme*, which liued in the blindness of corrupt, and depraued nature; *Iudaisme*, embracing the law which reformed heathenish impietie, and taught saluation to bee looked for, through one, who God in the last dayes, would send & exalt to be lord of al; finally, *Christianisme* which yeeldeth obedience to the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Sauour, whom God did promise. Now the question is, whether the dissenting parties, in this last religion, be so farre (not in opinion) but in the object, differing, as that there is no hope of reconciliation, and the one part only, hath but the priuiledge, to be reformed the Church. For the matter of reconciliation, it is no businesse, which lieth within the compasse of this labour, and whether, and how it may be doue, we are willing to referre it to the iudgements of men, who haue better abilitie to decide the cause. A booke in Latine was published, in the first beginning of these bitter contentions, without name, bearing the title, of the dutie of a godly man; but since *Belarmine* saith, that the Author was one *George Cassander*; this booke perswading that Princes ought to make an agreement betwix the Catholikes, the Lutherans, and

and Caluinists, as he tearmes them; which whilest they cannot find out the meanes to performe, they should permit to all men their severall religions, so that they held, both the Scripture and the Apostles Creed: for all (saith he) are the true members of the Church, howsoever in particular doctrines, they seeme to differ. This booke was first confuted by *Caluin*, on the one side, and then by one *Iohn Hessels* of Louaine, on the other side; that all the world might see, how loth both sides were, to be made friends. This hath since beene esteemed by others, a labour, much like to those pacificants, in the Emperour *Zeno* his time, or the heresie of *Apelles*, who held, as *Eusebius* writeth, that it was needlesse to discusse, the particulars of our faith, and sufficient only to beleue in Christ crucified. But least any man should thinke, that our contentions were but in smaller points, and the difference not great, both sides have charged the other, with heresies (if not infidelities) nay even such, as quite ouerthrowe the principall foundation of our Christian faith. How truly both haue dealt, those that are learned can best iudge; but I am sure, that in the greatest differences, there are great mistakings, which if they were not, it is like, their dissensions had beene much lesse. Now for the second, whether both parts may bee called the Church, this is that which concerneth the cause that wee haue in hand. The Church of England confesseth, that the Church of Christ, is a company of faithfull people; among whom the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments rightly administred, according to Christs institution; so that as our reuerend Fathers say, without Christ there is no Church; and those particular Churches, are more perfect, which in their religious worship, haue lesse faile in both these: now when enemies become iudges, sentences are often partiall, and each side with bitterness of tearmes, doth condemne other; whilest neither part, is willing to confesse their error, or amend themselves. Wee haue not suffered the contem-

Enag. lib. 3. cap. 14. 30.
Euseb. lib. 35. hist. cap. 13.

Art. 19. de eccl.

the second part of the church

68 Article. 11. *Of the visible Church, &c.*

tible reuilings of the Church of Rome, without telling her aloud that her faults are not so few as she imagineth; that her chastitie and puritie are not so great, that she need to boast; and that if she will needes bee proud, and confidently strue to be the chiefe, and the onely Church; wee must tell her in zeale, that what she was, she is not; that pride and prosperitie haue corrupted her, as other Churches. This though we speake out of zeale, seeing her faults, and knowing her contempt of vs; yet out of iudgement, we say (which Maister Hooker doth) that with Rome, we dare not communicate, concerning fundrie her grosse, & gricuous abominations, yet touching those maine parts of Christian truth, wherein they constantly still persist, wee gladly acknowledge them to bee of the familie of Iesus Christ: therefore, wee hope that to reforme our selues (if at anie time wee haue done amisse) is not to seuer our selues from the Church wee were before; in the Church we were, and we are so stil; as also we say, that they of Rome, notwithstanding their manifold defects, are to bee held, and reputed a part of the house of God; a limme of the visible Church of Christ. This is that, whereat your hote spirits haue taken offence; speaking out of the same ignorant zeale against our Church; as ye wish our Church to speake against the Church of Rome; accounting vs for perfection of a Church, as farre short of you, as Rome is of vs; or your selues of the Angels that are in heaven; and therefore you affirme that our stature congregations of England, are no true christian churches. Which error, as you haue at last beene from an vnrresistable wisdomed taught how to recant, so no doubt at length, vpon better aduise, you will learne in iudgment how to censure of the Church of Rome. And yet mistake me not, to giue her her due, is not to grant more then shee ought to challenge; nor to account her a part of the Church, is not to affirme that shee is absolutely perfect. There is no one word, that from the varietie of acceptation, hath bred

Hook. lib. 5. pag.
188.

Preface against
D. Bancroft.

bred greater difference, in the Church of God, then the word Church. Sometimes, it is taken for any assembly; sometimes for a faithful, & religious assembly; and the it sometimes noteth out the whole bodie of the elect in all ages, times, & places, both in heauen & earth; and only them. So it is in the article of our faith, I beleue the catholike church, that is, all those who are, or shal be sau'd both Angels & men; so it is taken in that speech of our Saviour; Vpon this rock will I build my church, that is, the whole catholike church. Sometimes it is taken for that part only, which is in heauen; as when it is said, that the church is without spot, or wrinkle; which can be verified of no part. (whatsoever the Anabaptists dreame) but of that which triumpheth. Sometimes it is taken for that part of the catholike church, which is militant, that thou maist knowe howe thou oughtest to behaue thy selfe in the house of God, which is the church of the liuing God; the pillar and ground of truth; So seare came vpon all the church. Sometimes it is taken for the pastors, and gouernours onely of the church, as when it is said; Tell the church, that is, the heads and gouernours of the church. Sometimes for the people, Take heede therefore vnto your selues, and to all the flocke, whereof the holy Ghost hath made you ouerseers, to feede the church of God, which he hath purchased with that his owne blood. Sometimes for particular churches, professing the doctrine and religion of Christ: as, To the Angell of the church of Ephesus; so we say, the church of Rome; the church of Corinth; the church of England: now from the mistaking of this worde (*Church*) doubtlesse much harme, and needlesse contentions haue come vnto the church of Christ. For in the first great contention (of what persons the Church consisteth) in my opinion wee dispute of one Church, namely, the true Catholike, all which must be sau'd; they dispute of the visible, wherein are hypocrites also: So that the reasons that are brought on both sides, are finally to the purpose, seeing

PEL. 2.6. 1.
Ecclesia militans.

Catholike Church.

Math. 16

Eph. 5. 27.

1. Tim. 3. 15.

Act. 5. 11

Mat. 13. 17

Act. 20. 18.

Reu. 2. 1.

seeing both sides directly mistake the question. Thus in the iudgment of those of the Church of Rome, persons excommunicate (though vniuſally) are cut off fro the particular Church, but not fro the catholike; excommunication being only, the censure of a particular Church: Therefore (saith our Sauour Christ) many are called (with an externall calling to the society of the visible Church) but few are chosen; that is, to the Catholike. For though both be a folde, yet of the visible Church (saith Saint *Austin*) In the Church there are many wolues, and out of the Church there are many sheepe; but in the Catholike, without any other mixture are sheepe only. Now visible and inuisible maketh, not two Churches; but the diuers estate & condition of one, & the same Church. Hence cometh it to passe, that in this question of the visibility of the Church; there is the like mistaking as in the former; for they of Rome say, we haue made this distinction, because our Church hath not bin alwaies visible; but we say, if our Church had bin as glorious, and as famous, as any Church in the world, we would haue accounted, the Catholike Church inuisible: Which (no doubt of it) they of Rome doe, vnderstanding (Catholick and visible) as we meane. For the Church of *Christ*, which we properly tearme his mystical body, can be but one; neither can that one, be sensibly discerned, by any man; in as much as the parts therof, are some in heauen, already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, (albeit their natural persons be visible) yet we cannot discern vnder this property, wherby they are truly and infallibly of that body; only our minds by internal conceits, are able to apprehend, that such a real body there is, a body collectiue, (because it conteyneth a huge multitude) a body mystical, (because the mystery of their coniunction is remoued altogether from sense.) Whatsoeuer we read in scripture concerning the endless loue, and the saving mercy, which God shewed towards his Church, the only proper subject therof is this Church. They who are of this society haue such marks, and notes, of distinction

from

Article .xv. *Of the visible Church.* 71

from al others; as are not subiect vnto our sense; only vnto God who seeth their hearts, and vnderstandeth al their secret cogitations, vnto him, they are cleere, and manifest. In the eie of God, they are against Christ, that are not truly and sincerely with him; in our eies, they must be receiued as with Christ, that are not to outward shew, against him; to him they seeme such as they are, but of vs they must be taken for such as they seeme. Al men knew *Nabab-nist* to be an Israelite, but our Sauour pearcing deeper, giveth further testimony of him then men could haue done, with such certainty as he did; behold indeede, an Israelite, in whom is no guile. Now as those euerlasting promises of loue, mercy, and blessednes, belong to the mystical Church, euen so on the other side, when wee reade of any duty, which the Church of God is bounde vnto; the Church whoni this doth concerne, is a sensible knowne company; and this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end: which company, beeing deuided into two parts, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ; that part which since the coming, partly hath embraced, and partly shal hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we teame as by a proper name, the Church of Christ. For all make but one body, the vnity of which visible body, and the Church of Christ, consisteth in that vniformity, which al seueral persons therein belonging haue by reason of y^e one Lord, whose seruants they all professe themselves to be; that one faith, which they al acknowledge; that one baptisme, wherewith they are al receiued into the church. As for those vertues, y^e belong vnto morall righteousnesses, & honesty of life, we do not speake of them, because they are not proper vnto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concerne them, as they are men. True it is; the want of these vertues, excludeth from saluation; so doth much more the absence of inward beleefe of heart; so doth despair and lack of hope; so emptinesse of Christian loue and charity; but we speake now, of the visible

Ioh. 1. 47.

Ephes. 1. 16.

Church

72 Article. 11. *Of the visible Church &c.*

Church, whose Children are signed with this marke; One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme. In whomsoever these things are. the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only she holdeth for aliens and strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these, it is that Saracens, Iewes, and infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church; others we may not (though you doe) denie to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparant it is, that al men are of necessity, either Christians, or not Christians; if by externall profession, they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ; and Christians by externall profession they are all, whose marke of recognisance hath in it those things which we haue mentioned: Yea although they be impious Idolaters, wicked hereticks, persons excommunicable, such as we deny not to be euen the lims of Satan, as long as they continue such. Is it then possible, say you, that the selfesame men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Christ? Vnto that Church, which is his mysticall bodie, not possible; because that bodie consisteth of none, but only true Israelits; true sonnes of *Abraham*, true seruants, and Saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body and Church of Christ, those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the maine parts of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of minde, yea of externall conuersation, yea euen of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hatefull in the sight of God himselfe, and in the eies of the sounder parts of the visible Church, most execrable. From hence haue proceeded those bitter speeches, wherewith many of our reuerend Fathers haue censured the Church of Rome: as also those violent courses, and vnseemely, which they haue hitherto vsed against vs. Therefore our Sauour compareth the kingdome of heauen, to a net, whereunto al that cometh neither is nor so cometh fische; his Church he compareth to a field; where tares mani-

Math. 13. 47

manifestly knowne and scene by all men doe grow, intermingled with good corne; and so shall continue til the final consummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever shall have, some Church visible vpon earth. But for lack of diligent obseruing, the difference, first betwixt the church of God, mystical and visible; then betweene the visible, sound, and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, the ouersights are neither few, nor light, that haue bin committed: This deceiueth them, and nothing else, who thinke that in the time of the first world, the family of *Noah*, did containe al that were of the visible church of God. From hence it grew, and from no other cause in the world, that the *African* Bishops, in the council of *Carthage*, knowing how the administration of Baptisme belongeth only to the church of Christ, and supposing that hereticks, which were apparantly seuered from the sound beleeuing church, could not possiblie be of the church of *Iesus Christ*, thought it vnderly against reason, that baptisme administered by men of corrupt beleefe, should be accounted as a Sacrament. Some of the Fathers were earnest, especially *Saint Cyprian*, in this point: but I hope you haue not yet proceeded so farre. This opinion was afterwards both condemned by a better aduised council, and also reuoked by the chiefe of the Authors thereof themselves: And therefore as it is strige for any man to denie them of *Rome* to be of the church; so I cannot but wonder, that they will aske where our church was, before the birth of *Martin Luther*; as if any were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new church of Christ. No, the church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is, and continueth in substance the same vnto the end; of which, al parts haue not bin alwaies equally sincere and sound. In the daies of *Abraham*, it plainly appeareth, that *Isaacs* was by many degrees more free from pollution, then *Israels*; In *Saint Pauls* time, the integrity of *Rome*, was famous; *Corinth* many waies reprobued; they of *Galathia* much more out of square; in *Iohns* time, *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*, in better

In conc. Nicen.
vide Hieron.
in di. cont.
Lucifer.

2. Cor. 13

74 Article.ii. *Of the visible Church, &c.*

better state, then Thiatyra and Pergamus were; and yet all of them, no doubt, parts of the visible church; so standeth the cause, betwixt Rome and vs; so farre as lawfully we may, we haue held, and do hold fellowship with them; we acknowledge the, to be of the family of Iesus Christ; and our heartie prayer vnto God Almighty is, that being conioyned, so farre forth with them, they may at length, if it be his will, so yeeld to frame, and reforme themselves, that no distraction remaine in anie thing, but that we, all, may with one heart, and one mouth glorifie God, the Father of our Lord, and Sauour, whose church we are. As there are, which make the church of Rome no church at all, vtterly: so we haue them amongst vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do giue, euen as hard a iudgement of the church of England it selfe. But whatsoever either the one sort, or the other teach, we must acknowledge, euen heretikes themselves, to bee (though a maimed part) yet a part of the visible church. For as to baptize is a proper action, belonging vnto none but the church of Christ, which is true in the church of Rome (howsoeuer some Anabaptists account it but a mockerie) so if an infidell, should pursue to death an heretike, professing christianitie, onely for christian profession sake, could the church denie him the honour of Martyrdome? Yet this honour all men know to be proper vnto the church; and therefore where the Fathers make opposition betwixt the visible church, and hereticall companies (as often times they doe) they are to bee construed, as separating heretikes, not altogether from the companie of beleeuers, but from the fellowship of sound beleeuers: for where profest *unbeleefe* is, there can be no visible church of Christ; there may be where sound beleefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the church, denie directly, and vtterly reiect, the very principles of Christianity; which heretikes imbrace, and erre onely, in misconstruction. And therefore it is strange that you dare affirme; the Turke to hold any part of the christian faith,

or

or to bee in that respect comparable to the church of Rome: For that which separateth viterly, that which cutteth off cleane, from the visible church of Christ, is, as Maister *Hooker* saith; plaine Apostasie; direct demall; viter reiection of the whole christian faith; as farre as the same is professedly different, from infidelitie. Heretikes; as touching those points of doctrine wherein they faile; Schismatikes, as touching the quarrels, for which, or the duties wherein they diuide themselves from their brethren; loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their seuerall offences, or crimes; haue all forsaken the true church of God, the church which is sound and sincere, in the doctrine; that they corrupt: The church that keepeth the bond of vnitie, which they violate: the church that walketh in the lawes of righteousness, which they transgresse: This verie true church of Christ, they haue left; howbeit not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church, ypon the maine foundations whereof, they continue built, notwithstanding these breaches, whereby they are rent at the top asunder. But peradventure you will say, why then doe wee refuse to communicate with the church of Rome, more then *Zacharie, Elizabeth, Anna*, and others, did with the high priests? corruptions being in both, and both remaining parts of the church of God? I answer, that in the time of our Sauour Christ, the synagogue of the Iewes, although it was not in regard of the high Priests, and chiefe Doctors in all respects, the true visible church; yet in some sort, it was; because the remainders of religion, were left, & the worship instituted of God himselfe, was not wholly taken away: so with the Papists we would not be afraid to communicate, in our liturgie, if it were not in respect of their superstitious order, & some prayers which are idolatrous, for which we haue some reasons, as yet to doubt, that they haue no warrant. We must all of vs be ioined to the true church, else we cannot be saued, that is to the catholike; not the visible: for doubles a man may bee saued, that

Booke. 5. pag.
185.

76 Article. 11. *Of the visible Church, &c.*

liueth not in any particular Church; or that is excommunicated from all : yet we say, thus much ; That we must ioyne our selues to some particular Church , if wee will be saued ; with this twofold caution, If such a Church be knowne vnto vs ; or if it be possible to ioyne vnto it. Wherein, because euerie particular may erre, yet none absolutely exclude from saluation , all men haue reason to ioyne with that, that is most sound. This then were the fittest point, to bee discust with moderation, and learning : That seeing all Churches haue some vnsound parts in them, which Church is to be reputed at this day the soundest of all the rest. Doubtlesse the Church of Rome , was once a light to all the Churches of the world ; but through the corruptions of some, those diseases haue somewhat infected the Church, which now to the sorrow of Christendome, like a canker, or leprosie, haue enlarged themselues. As there is a contention when *Adam* fell ; so histories varie, when this defection beganne : Some make siue or sixe hundred yeares to be the continuance of her sound estate ; some three hundred ; some to erre, euen from the Apostles time. Doubtlesse in the Apostles time, there were heretikes in the Church ; the *Nicholaitans*, *Simon Magus*, *Cerintus*, &c others. *Eusebius* reporteth out of *Egesippus*, that although as long as the Apostles liued, the Church did remaine a pure virgin, yet after those times, immediately, errors crept into the Church. *Clement Alexandrinus*, to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine presently after the Apostles time, alleageth the prouerbe, *There are few sons like their Fathers*. *Socrates* saith of the Church of Rome and Alexandria (the most famous Churches in the Apostles time) that about the yeare 430. the Roman and Alexandrian Bishops, leauing their sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or dominion. Yet we say not, that all before *Gregory*, were sound, nor all after, corrupt ; yet their errors grew on by little and little, euen from those men, whose reuerend names, gaue warrant to
what

Rom. 1. 8.

Caluin.
Melanct.

Lib. 3. cap. 32.

what they held; they thinking nothing lesse, then by those meanes to haue corrupted the Church. But shce may when it pleaseth God, recouer her former soundnesse againe; if we had but so much care of them, as they seeme to haue of vs; or that all sides peaceably with indifferencie, would admit the true vse of a generall Councell. But let their errours be as they are; we leaue them, to bee reprov'd by those, whom that businesse doth concerne, and to bee iudged by the searcher of all hearts: yet for all that, we asseme them to be parts of the Church of Christ; and that those, that liue, and die in that Church, may notwithstanding bee saued. Of those who are of a contrarie opinion in a good meaning, I say with *Lactantius*, With howe good a meaning these poore soules do euill. To conclude, least you should thinke Maister *Hooker* to bee arrogant, and presumptuous, to make himselfe (as you say) the onely Rabbi; know that hee hath saide nothing, which that honourable Frenchman of worthie memorie hath not said before, with great wisdom, moderation, and learning. But if you cannot bee resolved without a miracle, as you scoffingly seeme to desire, wee can but in our prayers recommend your weaknesse to the God of all power, and the fountaine of all light.

Lib. 5. Inscap. 19. O quam in nosa voluntate miseriamus.

In his Treatise of the Church cap. 1.

ARTICLE XII

Of Preaching.

WHEN hard it is, for those who are in loue with themselves, to carie a well tempered indifferencie betwixt that which they out of ignorance performe, and others, out of iudgement auoid; this Article alone may serue, as euidence sufficient to perswade all. For euen, in the matter, of greatest vse vnto Gods church (the dispensation of

1. Cor. 11

Acts. 3. 1

the word of life) a vehement dislike of those things, which they cannot attaine, hath wrought too violent an opposition, for the overthrow of that course, which learning and truth haue held not to be the weakest meanes, to support the same. Hence cometh it to passe, that whilst al grant the word to be powerful and effectual; some thinke, this is only true, of the word preached; which otherwise, hath final vertue, except it be in sermons; & those sermons only, to haue this power, which are of their own making. Causing the holy ghost, whose strength is perfected in weakenes, to be necessarily tied, to a defect of al outward ornaments; as though that almighty power, vpon whom euer excellency depēds, euē in the weakest meanes, were of lesse authority, or lesse power, whē the meanes which he useth, were more excellent: thus depriuing the church of variety of gifts, who out of obedience and humility, hath learned how to profit by all. But, as to tie the power of conuerting sinners, to that which is eloquently strong in humane wisdom, were a thing not safe, & iniurious to the church; so to bee too earnest, against al outward ornaments, through an affectation of pure simplicity, is an error no lesse dangerous then the former was. For seeing those that teach are not all, either capeable, or furnished, with the same gifts, and that continually, there is no lesse variety in those that heare; it is the wisdom, and discretion of the church, for a better attainmēt of a more perfect estate, to learne with thankfulness and reuerence how to profit by all. For as it is impossible, that anie one forme of teaching should please or perswade all men, (a prerogatiue which was not graunted to the first and best sermons) whose excellencie was that they conuerted many, but not all; so the rest, who yet are not, but must be conuerted, are to expect (though not with curiosity to affect) a variety for the manner, euē of that which in substance and end, is but meereely one. For the mysticall body, as it is ful of variety and diuersity in his parts, yet in it selfe but one; so the working is manifold, & different, though the beginning
and

and the end, Gods power, and his glory be in truth, to, and for all men; but one. For sometimes the word, by being read proposeth, and preacheth it selfe to the hearer; sometimes they deliver it, whom privately zeale and piety moueth to be instructors of others, by conference; sometimes, of them it is taught, whom the church hath called to the publick, either reading thereof, or interpreting; & by them after a most diuers manner; but all tending to one end, for which God hath made his visible church to be that congregation of faithfull people, wherein the pure word of God is preached: so that in this respect we refuse not, to make the preaching of the word (taking the word preaching for all manner of teaching) to be an essentiall note, of the church. For doubtles in that parable of the sower, by you alledged, we mislike not much the interpretation of that Reuerend Bishop which you bring forth, as opposite to Maister Hooker; saying, God is the husbandman, the Preachers of the word are the seed sowers, the seede is the word of God, the ground is the hearts of men; and yet Saint *Austin*, differeth a little from this exposition, where he saith, the sower is God, and I, because he soweth, what am I but the seedmans basket? Which euen the meanest Christian no doubt is, though neuer called to the office of preaching, if he can by private conference, exhort and instruct out of holy Scripture: which as it is, an acte of lesse honor, and profit, then the preaching of those, that are worthily called to that office; so euen, in their sermons that are called, there is no man but must acknowledge, a manifold, and apparant difference. For seeing speech (as Maister Hooker saith) (which you mislike) is the very image, whereby the mind; and soule of the speaker, conueyeth it selfe into the bosome of him that heareth; we cannot chuse, but see great reason, wherefore the word, that proceedeth from God (who is in him selfe very truth and life) should be (as the Apostle to the Hebrews noteth) lively, and mighty in operation, sharper then any two edged sword: Now, to make our ser-

Matt. 13. 3

Bishops of
Lincol. & Ser.
vpon, Mat. 13.Cyprianus
Seminant.

Heb. 4. 12

mons that strong, & forcible word, is to impart the most peculiar glory of the word of God, vnto that which is not his word. For touching our sermons, that which giueth them their very being, is the will of man; and therefore, they oftentimes, accordingly tast too much of that ouer-corrump fountaine, from which they come. For euen the best of our Sermons, (and in Sermons there is an infinite difference) howsoeuer they oftentimes, haue a singular blessing, and that the scripture, the pure word of God, is the text and the ground of the speech; yet the rest of the discourse, which is sometimes two, or three houres long, (a time too long for most preachers to speake pertinently) is but the paraphrastically enlarging of the same text, together with those fit exhortations and applications, which the learning of the preacher, is able to furnish himselfe withall, and his discretion shall thinke fit for that auditory to which he speaketh. And therefore, as to equalize every declamation, or oration in schooles, to them, is to wrong sermons; so to make, euen the best sermons, equall to the scripture, must be in apparant reason a great wrong, to that which is immediately Gods own word; wherunto, though the best preach agreeably, yet the sermons of none, since the Apostles time, are or ought to be esteemed of equall authority with the holy scripture: and yet, we are not afraide, to ascribe vnto them, that blessing from aboue, to conuert, reforme, and strengthen, which no eloquence, Wisedome, Learning, Policie, and Power of the world, is able to match. Neither is there contrariety in this, that we that are the Preachers are sent as the Apostles were, in respect of our calling from God; and yet, that the learning, and wit of man, giueth the very being vnto that wee teach. Vnlesse (which some ouerboldly doe) you thinke it vnlawfull to vse either learning or wit, in making of sermons: As though all other helpes, purchased with great cost, and infinite labour, together with a naturall ability, all perfected in those excellent fountaines of all learning, the Vniuersities, were to be reiected, as wholly vnprofi-

unprofitable in this busines. Neither doth Master Hooker, or any other of iudgement say (which you seeme to infer) that a man by natural witte, without a supernaturall light, from the scripture, is able to vtter those mysteries as he ought; which doubtesse being a great fault, is rather the error of those who preach most, and yet vsc least helps of learning or wit, for that they vtter. Wherein it must needs seeme strange, that they euer vnderstanding by the word, the worde preached; whereunto they ascribe vitall operation; yet they performe this with such negligence, that they come rashly, vnfurnished, to so great a businesse; and scarce attentively weigh the dangerous sequell; of this construction. Doubtesse; our sermons, euen the best, either for sound knowledge, or pure zeale, are not Gods word in the same manner that the sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously teamed his word, because his word, is commonly the subject wherof they treat, and must be the rule whereby they are framed. Yet sermons haue sundrie, peculiar, and proper vertues, such as no other way of teaching besides hath: aptnesse to follow particular occasions presently growing; to put life into words, by countenance, voice and gesture; to preuaile mightily in the sodaine affections of men; these and such like, are those excellent prerogatives, which some few may challenge, who worthily deserue the name to be called preachers. We reiect not (as of no vse at all in the Church) euen the vertuous labours of meaner men, who come far short of the perfection of these few; but earnestly wish the gouernours of our Church; for fitt employment and maintenance, to respect both: And they laying aside all comparisons, equally to labour to further that worke, which by a blessing from above, knoweth how to profit by the labours of all. It seemeth by that which you allege, *Epist. pag. 13. 14.* that only such sermons, haue their being, from the wit of a man, which curiously bring into the pulpit, *Poets; Philosophers; Rhetoricians; Physitians; Schoolmen*, and other humane learning; which the reuerend Fathers say you and

more staid diuines, are warie to auoid. In this speech of yours, in my opinion, there are two faults. The first, a particular vniust censure, of the Fathers, whether you meane, the holy Fathers of the Church, as Saint *Austine*, Saint *Ambrose*, Saint *Gregorie*, Saint *Bernard*, and the rest; or those reuerend Fathers which doe liue at this day; all which, whilest you seeke to commend, directly you dispraise; accounting them, to auoid all humane learning, and that their sermons, haue not their being from the wit of man: which doubleesse is false, seeing they excell by infinite degrees, the sermons of manie others which are framed, by neither. The second fault, is a generall taxation of all those, who anie way furnish their sermons with humane learning. You may peradventure be able, to giue good direction in other points, but surely in framing of a Preacher, or making of a sermon, you are much deceived; for I can neuer perswade my selfe, that the exactest industrie that man can vse, is vnlawfull or vnecessary in this worke; for sometimes, we are to deale with those, whose opinions are not easily confuted without humane learning; nor their attention gained without wit; nor their affections perswaded without eloquence; where to come vnfurnisht, and leaue the workings without meanes, to him who giueth a power, and a blessing to the meanes we vse, is all one to appoint him what meanes are fittest, or to inioyne him to worke without meanes at all: which, though that Almighty power can do, yet then to refuse the, when they are provided, or not to furnish vs, with as much as we can of the best that he hath provided, it argueth our vphthankfulnesse, and our want of choise. This made (when *Celsus*, *Julian*, and *Porphyry*, had written against vs) the holy Fathers to confute them, with all variety of humane learning; that thus the enemies of that truth, which we teach, may say with *Julian*, We are strooke through with our owne weapons. This was the happines of *Epphanius* (which I wish were common to all preachers) that, his writings were read of the learned for the matter,

*Propriis penitis
confitemur.*

matter, of the sumple for the words: Thus we should not doubt but to win an attention from all; nay even for the true discharging of this businesse, there is a necessarie use of Grammar, to teach the originall & proprietie of words; of Logicke, to discern ambiguities; of Rhetoricke, for ornament (a good tale being much better, when it is well told;) of Philosophie, for the unfolding the true nature of causes; the ignorance whereof, hath brought much error in expounding the holy Scriptures; of Historie, for the computation of times; in one word, of all humane learning, which like the spoiles of Egypt, we have recovered from the vniust owners; accounting it no more disgrace to be accused of eloquence, wit, or humane learning, then S. *Austin* did, by *Petilian*, to be termed *Tertullian* the Orator. There be that account Incivillitie of maners, and Rusticitie of speech, as Saint *Hierome* speaketh, true holinesse. But it is not he, that those that are too chieffe should enuie the teeth of others; or those that are Moules, repine that others see (as the same Father admonisheth *Calpurnius*.) It hath beene a trouble, of some of our best and most excellent preachers, that they have betne inforced, after their wearisome toiling, and vntiregarded paines, to give a reason, and make a defence (as though they had committed a fault) for the use of that, for which in true estimation, they ought to haue reaped much praise. And therefore saith one (whom I dare oppose, for eloquence and iudgement, against the best in that great city of the contrarie faction) I am not of opinion with those men, who thinke that all secular, and prophane learning should be abandoned from the lips of the preacher, and that whether hee teach, or exhort, he is of necessity to tie himselfe, to the sentence and phrase of only Scripture. Good is good, whersoever I find it: vpon a withered and fruitlesse stalke, saith S. *Austin*, a grape sometimes may hang; shall I refuse the grape because the stalke is fruitlesse and withered? There is not any knowledg of learning to be despised, seeing that all science whatsoever, is in the nature & kind

*Ad Marcell.
epist. 102.*

Epist. ad Rom.

London.

M. King vpon
Ionas, pag. 141

*De Baptis. contra
Donat. lib. 6. cap.
2.*

*Advers. Creso.
lib. 1. cap. 1.*

Epist. ad Cornel.

of good things; rather those that despise it, we must repute rude, & vnprofitable altogether, who would bee glad that all men were ignorant, that their owne ignorance lying in the common heape, might not be espied. And *S. Austin* in in another place, saith, Eloquence is not euill, but a sophisticall malignant profession, proposing to it selfe, not as it meaneth, but either of contention, or for commodity sake, to speake for all things, & against all things. What were more profitable, then the eloquence of *Donatus*, *Parmentan*, & others of your sect, if it ran with as free a streame, for the peace, vnity, truth, and loue of Christs, as it floweth against it? for els it is a venomous eloquence, as Saint *Cyprian* wrote of the eloquence of *Nauatius*; I know there is much amisse, both in matter, and in the vse of prophane learning; but this we are sure, if we bring it to the Scripture, if it bee faultie, it is condemned; if wholsome, it is there confirmed. And I see no reason, that any man should be bold, to offer his owne inuentions, and conceits to the world, when hee findeth such, in the Fathers, and others, as cannot be amended. I am sorie that the learned of any sort (as my Author saith) that hath but born a book, should dispraise learning; she hath enemies enough abroad, though she bee iustified by her children. It is fitter that wisdom, bee beaten by fooles, then by those who ought to be esteemed wise; aboue all other places, a blow giuen in the pulpit against learning (a fault too common) leaueth ascarre in the face of knowledge, which cannot easily be cured. It calleth in question, the teaching of others, as if they fed the people with acorns & husks, not bread; or because they gather the truth out of humane Authours, they contemned the authority of the holy Scriptures. Doubtlesse, it is sometime vanity in those that preach, & itching in those that heare, & a thing not tolerable, or allowable in either; but where it is otherwise, let not a rash conclusion without prooffe (as though it were young mens faults) bee admitted against good learning. If *Aselepiodorus* will draw with a cole, or chauke alone, I iudge him not; if others, wil paint with colours,

lours, neither let them be iudged: for those, that are wise, and humble in the Church, know how with discretion to make vse of all; and yet, not all of the like authoritie. For doctrines deriued, exhortations deducted, interpretations agreeable, are not the verie word of God, but that onely, which is in the originall text, or truly translated; and yet we call those sermons, though improperly, the word of God. To conclude this point, as our Church hath manie excellent Preachers, which we wish by good encouragement may increafe; so it is too presumptuous a labour for any, to prescribe one forme necessarie to all. But I could wish that all were like him whom you accuse, or like one *Marianus Genazanus*, whom *Angelus Polittanus* doth excellently describe, in my opinion an excellent patterne of a reuerend Diuine.

*Epist. lib. 4. cap. 17.
6. Tristano Chalc.*

ARTICLE XIII.

Of the Ministers office.

IN the actions of this life, whether spirituall or temporal, God and man giue their approbation in a diuers maner; the one looketh onely at the thing done, the other at the mind & disposition of the doer. And therefore, the same things from diuers parties, are not of the same, nor of like value: nay, that which is from sinceritie, a worship; is from hypocrisie, a sin: and the defects, which outwardly the maner of doing disproueth, the sinceritie oftentimes in the mind of the doer, acquiteth. In the eye of man, it is sometimes a fault which is no sin; & in the eye of God, a sin, which in the eye of man, was no fault. So that according to lawes, which principally respect the heart of man, works of religion being not religiously performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptisme as an *Ecclesiasticall* work, is for the maner of performance ordered by diuers ecclesiasticall lawes, providing, that as the sacrament it self is a gift of no mean worth, so the ministerie thereof might in all circumstances, appeare to bee a function of no small regarde. The ministerie

of the things diuine, is a function, which as God did himselfe institute; so neither may men undertake the same, but by authority and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto man in necessities, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his heavenly truth, because without that inestimable benefice, we must needes haue wandred in darknesse, to our endles perdition; and who hath in the like aboundance of mercies, ordeined certaine to attend vpon the due execution, of requisite parts, and offices, therein prescribed, for the good of the whole world; which men therunto assigned, doe hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himselfe immediately, or else the Church in his name inuesteth; it being neither possible, for all, nor for every man, without distinction conuenient, to take vpon him a charge of so great importance: and therefore very fitly, the Church of England affirmeth, that it is not lawfull for any one, to take to himselfe the office of preaching publicly, or administering the Sacraments, in the Church, except he be first lawfully called to doe these things: For God who hath reserved, euen from the first beginning of the world, vntill the end thereof, a Church vnto himselfe, vpon earth; against which, the gates of hell, shall not preuaile; hath likewise appointed, a perpetuall ministry for the seruice therein; which though for outward calling hath not bin euer the same, yet continually it was limited, in these bounds, as a thing most vomeet, and vlawfull, for any man to undertake, that was not called. For as it is Gods infinite mercie, when he could either save vs without the ministry of any, or by the ministry of Angels; yet then to honour man, with this dignity to make him a coadiutor, dispenser, and cohelper in so great a worke; so it is his wisdom to appoint both for the avoiding of confusion, and vniuerselle, such persons as are truly allotted to so honorable an office; which neither before, vnder, or after the law, was euer lawfull, without any calling to undertake. The enemies to this religious

order

order of the Church, haue bin certaine louers of confusion, which vnder pretence of the calling of the spirit, haue ouerboldly intruded themselves, into those holy functions; for which lawfully they had neuer warrant. Such were the *Enthusiasts*, *Anabaptists*, *Schwenkfeldians*, who being enemies to all order, vnder pretence of a calling from the Holy-ghost, which others wanted, haue made a passage contrary to that restraint of the Apostle, (Let no man take vpon him that honor to himselfe, but he that is called of God) without expectation of lawfull warrant, to those duties, that in the Church are greatest: for in the time before the law, it was not permitted to take the office of priesthood, vlesse he either were or had the prerogatiue of the eldest brother. This was for the sinne of *Rabon* deriued to the tribe of *Leui*; first for their zeale, in that great idolatry; and was after confirmed vnto him, in the sedition of *Corab*: and yet not to all of that family, either to serue in that tabernacle, or to teach through out all Israel. Neither were all ages equally fit vnto this calling; it being neither lawfull before five and twenty, nor after fifty to be admitted to it. As also those, that were admitted, had a speciall consecration, for a personall difference, from the rest of that family, to let them vnderstand, that although they, and only they of that tribe, were to be employed in those functions, yet it was not lawfull to vndertake it, without a calling: this afterward, whe better notes of eminencie gaue that allowance which before birth did, was with greater reuerence to be expected, and to be obserued with a greater care, by those whom the Church had inuested, with authority to call vnto that charge. To these persons, because God imparted power over his mysticall bodie, which is the society of foules, and over that naturall, which is himselfe, for the knitting of both in one (a worke which antiquity doth call the making of Christs body) the same power is in such, not amisse both tearmed a kind of marke, or Character, and acknowledged to be indeleble. For ministeriall power, is a marke

Heb. 5. 4.

Leuit. 22. 13
Num. 3.Exo. 29
Leuit. 8
Num. 8

of

Hook. lib. 5. pag
218.

of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a speciall order, consecrated vnto the seruice of the most high; in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is, in that they are a distinct order: and I call it indeleble, because they which haue once receiued this power, as Maister *Hooker* saith, may not thinke to put it off and on like a cloake, as the weather serueth, to take it, reiect and resume it, as oft as themselves liste: of which prophane and impious contempt, these latter times haue yeelded (as of all other kinds of iniquity and apostasie) strange examples. But let them know, which put their hands to this plough, that once consecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suspensions may stoppe, and degradations vterly cutte off, the vse or exercise of power giuen; but voluntarily it is not in the power of man, to separate and pull asunder, what God by his authority coupleth: Neither neede there a reordinatiō for such as were consecrated by the Church, in corrupter times; for out of men indued with gifts of the spirit, the Church chose her ministers, vnto whom was giuen ecclesiasticall power by ordination; which they could neither assume, or reiect at their owne pleasure. Of these, without doubt the Apostolick Churches, did acknowledge but three degrees at the first; Apostles (in stead whereof are now Bishops) Presbyters, and Deacons; for there is an error (as Maister *Hooker* saith) which beguileth many, who much entangle both themselves and others, by not distinguishing, seruices, offices, and orders Ecclesiasticall; the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the laity, whereas none haue, or can haue the third, namely (order) but the clergie. Carechists, Exorcists, Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, if the nature only of their labour, and paines be considered, may in that respect seeme clergie men; euen as the fathers for that cause tearme them vsually Clerks; as also in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp; which

was

of iurii

was to enter into orders, when yeeres and experience should make them able; notwithstanding in as much as they no way differed from others of the laity, longer then during that work of seruice, which at any time they might giue ouer, being thereunto but admitted, not tyed by irrevocable ordination; we finde them alwaies, exactly seuered from that body, whereof those three before rehearsed orders, alone are naturall parts. This will appeare more fully (howsoever you nilllike it) if we consider but a litle, those seruices, and duties, about which they were employed. The first were doorekeepers, (for we omitte the first tonsor, which was not any order but a preparation) whose office was, as Maister *Caluin* noteth, to open and to shut the doores of the temple; we agree in this with the Church of Rome; our difference is, for the ordination of them. The second were readers, the duty of these, as *Zanchy* saith, was only to reade the Bible, without any exposition, in a pulpit or place more eminent then the rest; so that in the compasse of a whole yeere, it was fully finished and read ouer: this was to make the people who could not read, more familiarly acquainted with the holy scriptures. Of this duty, *S. Cyprian* in his Epistles, hath written most; as of one *Aurelius*, being made a Reader, of one *Saturus*, as also of *Celerinus*, which afterward was a Martyr. The difference betwixt vs, in this point, and the Church of Rome, is, that they make it a certaine degree and order, which Maister *Caluin* doth not; which in my opinion is no material difference, seeing vndoubtedly the Church by speciall ordination (without Ecclesiasticall order) appointed those, whom she vsed in those places. The next were exorcists, which did adiure those that were possessed with vncleane spirits; but this was rather doubtlesse a peculiar gift, then any ordinary office in Gods Church. The next were disputers, which were appointed with all comers to defend the religion, against the heathen. The next were *Acoluthi*, attendants vpon the Bishops, with whom these had for their learning, and reuerend behaui-

Hoot. lib. 1. pag. 240.

Officiu.

Lib. 4. Instit.

cap. 4. sect. 9.
Bellar. tom. 1. de
Cler. lib. 1. cap.
23. Lectures.

Epist. lib. 3. 5.
lib. 3. Epist. 22
lib. 4. epist. 5.

Lib. 4. Instit. cap. 4
sect. 9.

Exorcista.

Ca. lib. 4. cap. 40
sect. 24.
Zanch. in 4. pro-
cep. pag. 688.
Disputatores.
Acoluthi.

our, that familiarity, that they were thought fittest to succcede in the place of Bishops. This, as it was an employment of great respect; so it is retained in the Church of Rome at this day, with too meane a regard for so reuerend a place. The next were Singers: for it was thought vnfit, that a Bishop, a Presbyter, or Deacon, should doe this. The last which we wil reckon, was the Catechists, whose office was to teach children, and others conuerred, the summe of Christian doctrine. This dutie was referred to learned men; sometimes Presbyters, Doctors, or Deacons; but not euer. For though *Origen* and *Clement*, were both Doctors, and Catechists in Alexandria; yet all that were Catechists, and so allowed to expound, and teach the Scriptures, were not of necessitie admitted to holy orders: and so consequently, as the word is properly taken by Maister *Hooker*, none of the Clergie. I say properly, for Clergie is a general name for all those, whose lot, and portion is the Lord: More specially for those, who are students in diuinity, & after are to enter into holy orders. Of these, there were Colledges after the Apostles; as before, Colledges of the Prophets. And out of these, were taken such, as the Church (without Ecclesiasticall ordination) vsed in those seruices, which before are mentioned. Out of all which, it is most apparant, that from the Clergie in respect of ministeriall power, these are iustly seuered. This is that which you mislike, esteeming it a thing vnfit for any man to preach, that hath not a ministerial calling. Neither doth Maister *Hooker* determine how fit it is, that this should be performed, by men who are not entred into orders; but that this hath sometimes beene the practise of the Church, howsoeuer now performed by men of another calling; there is no man of anie reading can possibly doubt: Neither is the practise in some Colledges of diuines at this day, altogether vnlike; where men are admitted, euen for exercise, or triall, to interpret & expound the Scriptures, which are not as yet (but hereafter may be) consecrated to an Ecclesiasticall function. Now, whereas you

Cantabrigie.
Greg. in regill.
lib. 4. cap. 88.
Catechista.
Gal. 6.

Rus. lib. 6.
Cap. 13. & 20.

All Christians.

you scoffe at the word *Character*, as if there were no stamp
at all which made a difference betwixt the Clergie and the
Laity: know, that where there is a chāge of estate, with an
impossibility of returne, there we haue reason to account
an indeleble character to bee imprinted. This faith the

Bel. Jan. 1. pag.
2101.

Church of Rome, is in Baptisme, Confirmation, & Order.

Of the last of which, we only contend at this time: For any
thing that I reade, Saint *Austin* was the first that vsed the
word in this sense; and no doubt of it, in Baptisme there
is that mark stamped vpon vs, in that we are baptized, that
there is a pāsīue power, as the Schoolemen call it, which
maketh a man in time fit to receiue the rest, which they cal

Sacraments, and without which, they are truly accounted
void. This forme, figure, impressiō, or character, is called
indeleble, because that is not to be reiterated, frō whence
it cometh. The character of Order, is an actiue power, as
the Schoolemen speake, which giueth an abilitie publick-
ly to administer the Sacraments, vnto those, who the church
hath esteemed fit. From whence proceedeth the second
great exception, which you haue taken in this Article,
namely, that Maister *Hooker* seemeth to grant a libertie, as
for Catechists to preach, who are no Ministers; so also for
women in cases of some necessitie to Baptise, contrary, say

My L. Grace
of Cant. D.
Whitgift. pag.
116.

you, both to that most Reuerend Archbishop, and others,
who constantly affirme, that God, & wel ordred Churches
forbid women all dispensation of holy mysteries. Wee
are not to dispute, what lawes giue allowance to the per-
formance of this office, nor what care ought to make re-
straint from too vsuall a libertie of doing it without great
necessities; seeing weaknesse is commonly bold, and bold-
nesse a presumptuous intruder, where it hath least cause.
But this we say, which M. *Hooker* hath proued already, that
Baptisme by women is truly Baptisme, good, and effectual
to those that haue it: neither doe all those exceptions of
sexe, qualitie, insufficiencie, or whatsoeuer, serue to fru-
strate, such as the Church of her indulgence, is willing to
admit, from being partakers of so great a benefit. To make

92 Article. 13. *Of the Ministers office.*

2. Tim. 3. 13.

women teachers in the house of God, were a grosse absurditie, seeing the Apostle hath said, *I permit not a woman to teach*: and if any from the same ground, exclude them from other publike offices in the Church, wee are not much against it. But to womens Baptisme in priuate, by occasion of vrgent necessitie, the reasons that concerne ordinarie Baptisme in publike, are no iust preiudice; neither can we by force thereof, disproue the practise of those Churches, which (necessity requiring) allow Baptisme, in priuate to be administred by women. We may not from lawes that prohibite any thing with restraint, conclude absolute, and vnlimited prohibitions. For euen things lawfull, are well prohibited, when there is feare, least they make the way to vnlawful more easie; & it may be, the libertie of Baptisme by women, at such times, doth sometimes embolden the rasher sort to do it, where no such necessity is. But whether of permission besides law, or in presumption against law, they do it (which now is no part of the question in hand) it is not hereby altogether frustrate, void, and as if it were neuer giuen. True it is, that seeing God, from whom mens seuerall degrees, & preheminences proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receiue Baptisme; and all other publike helpes medicinable to the soule; perhaps thereby the more to settle our hearts, in the loue of our ghostly superiors; they haue small cause to hope that with him, their voluntarie seruices will be accepted, who thrust themselues into functions, either about their capacitie, or besides their place, and ouerboldly intermeddle with duties, whereof no charge was euer giuen vnto them. In which respect, if lawes forbid it to be done, yet therefore it is not necessarily void when it is done. For many things are firme being done, which in part are done, otherwise the positive rigor, and strictnes did require. Actions vsurped haue often the same nature, which they haue in others, although they yeeld not him that doth them the same comfort. What defects then are in this kind, they redound with restraint to the

the offender only; the grace of Baptisme commeth by do-
nation from God onely. That God hath committed
the mysterie of Baptisme vnto speciall men, it is for orders
take in his Church, and not to the intent that their autho-
ritie might giue being, or adde force to the Sacrament it
selfe. Infants haue right to Baptisme, we all know; that
they haue it, not by lawfull ministers, it is not their fault;
Mens owne faults are their owne harmes. So then wee
conclude this point, with Maister Hooker, that it is one
thing to defend the fact for lawfulness in the doer (which
few do) and another thing the fact being done, which no
man hath reason to disallow; for though it is not lawfull
for women to vndertake that office to baptize, which per-
aduenture belongs not vnto them; yet the Baptisme being
done, we hold it lawfull.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of the Sacraments.

IT is not a thing lesse vsuall in the apprehension of
truths, through the weaknesse of our vnderstan-
ding, to ascribe too little, to that which in all rea-
son hath great vertue; then to allow ouermuch
to that, which hath no vertue at all. It fareth with men in
this kind, as it doth with some decentfull artificers; who
bestow most arte and outward additions, where inwardly
there is least value, whilst they leaue that altogether vn-
furnished, which is able to expose it to sale, by his owne
worth. It is our fault, no lesse violently to extoll, what
our fancies make vs to account excellent, then to dispraise
things truly commendable in their owne nature, be-
cause onely they haue gained this disadvantage, to bee
disliked by vs. So that whosoeuer maketh either praise, or
dispraise to be a rule of iudgement, or the iudgement of
some few, to bee a signe of value, he with like hazard e-
qually erreth in both. For times and places, violent

circumstances, of that which men say with or against, breed infinite varietie of alterations, where things are the same; and out of commendation alone (a strange effect) dispraise like a monster, doth spring vp: It being cause sufficient to distempered humours, yehemently to dislike, only in this respect, that others doe commend the same. Wherein, the safest, and most charitable direction, will bee absolutely in that violent opposition to beleue neither; but euen from both; to deriue a truth much sounder then that which either holdeth: From hence hath it come to passe, that whilest they of the Church of Rome, haue peradventure ascribed too much to works, some of vs too little, others haue set downe an equality, dissenting from both. Thus in the matter of the sacraments, (things of greatest and most hidden vertue left vnto the Church, (for they are called Mysteries) some haue bin thought to deriue that power to them; which belongeth to God only; which, whilest others sought to auoide, they haue euen deprived them, of that grace, which God doubtles in truth hath bestowed vpon them. In this kinde you are of opinion, that M. *Hooker* hath erred, who as you imagine, hath ascribed to the sacraments, farre more, (following therein the steps of the Church of Rome) then either the Scripture, the articles of our Church, or the exposition of our Reuerend Bishops, and others do. For the Fathers (say you) make the Sacraments only *Seales* of assurance, by which the Spirit worketh inuibly, to strengthen our faith. And therefore, they call them visible words, seales of righteousness, and tokens of grace. That they doe, and say thus, there is no man doubteth; but we are not yet perswaded that this is all, or the furthest (as you alledge) that they saie; because vndoubtedly we are assured, that they haue learned both to know and to speake otherwise. For the Sacraments chiefe force, and vertue, consisteth in this, that they are heavenly ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained, to be administred in his Church. First, as markes to know when God

*1st. Apol. Ang.
cap 10 diuina. 1.*

*The letter pag.
38 lin 2.*

*Hook. hooker. 5
pag. 116*

God doth impart his vitall or sauing grace of Christ, vnto all that are capable therof: and secondly, as meanes conditionall, which God requireth in them, vnto whom he imparteth grace. For doubtles, it must needes be a great vnthankfulnesse, and easily breed contempt, to ascribe only that power to them to be but as scales; and that they teach but the minde, by other sense, as the worde doth by hearing: which if it were all, what reason hath the Church, to bestow any Sacrament vpon Infants, who as yet for their yeares, are nor capable of any instruction; there is therefore of Sacraments, vndoubtedly some more excellent and heauenly vse. Sacraments, by reason of their mixt nature, are more diuersly interpreted, and disputed of, then any other part of Religion besides; for that in so great store of properties belonging to the selfe same thing, as euery mans wit, hath taken hold of some especiall consideration, aboue the rest; so they haue accordingly giuen their censure of the vse and necessity of them. For if respect bee had to the dutie, which euery communicant doth vndertake, we may cal them truly bōds of our obedience to God; strict obligations to the mutuall exercise of Christian charity; prouocations to godlines; preseruatiōs frō sin; memoriāls of the principal benefits of Christ. If we respect the time, of their institutiō, they are annexed for euer, vnto the new testamēt; as other rites were before with the old. If we regard the weakenesse, that is in vs, they are warrants for the more security of our beleefe. If we compare the receiuers, with those that receiue them nor, they are works of distinctiō, to separate Gods owne from strangers; and in those that receiue them as they ought, they are tokens of Gods gracious presence, whereby men are taught, to know what they cannot see. For Christ and his holy spirit, with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soule of man, we are not able to apprehend or expresse how, doe notwithstanding giue notice, of the times when they vse to make their accesle, because it pleaseth Almighty God, to communicate by sensible meanes, those

those blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing therefore, that grace is a consequent of Sacraments; a thing which accompanieth them as their end; a benefit, which he y^e hath, receiueh from God himselfe, the author of Sacraments, & not from any other natural or supernaturall quality in them; it may be heereby both vnderstood, that Sacraments are necessary; and that the manner of their necessity to life supernaturall, is not in al respects, as fooode, vnto naturall life. Because they containe in themselves, no vitall force or efficacie, but they are duties of seruice and worship; which vnlesse we performe, as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable: For all receiue not the grace of God, which receiue the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it ordinarily his will, to bestowe the grace of Sacraments vpon any, but by the Sacraments. Which grace also they that receiue by Sacraments, or with Sacraments, receiue it from him, and not from them. That sauing grace, which Christ originally is, or hath, for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he seuerally deriueh into euery member thereof. They serue, as instruments, the vse is in our hands, the effect is his. And this made the Schoolemen, and the rest, (which you are affraide to graunt) to say that the Sacraments were not onely signes, but causes of our iustificati-
 on. Now agent causes, we know, are of two sorts; principall, which worketh by the vertue and power of his forme; as fire, maketh hotte: and thus nothing can cause grace, but God himselfe; Grace being a participation of the diuine nature. Instrumentall, which worketh not as the other, by vertue of his owne proper forme, but only by that motion, which it hath from the principall, and first agent. Thus doe Sacraments worke; and therefore saith Saint *Austin*, the Sacraments are finished, performed, and passe away; but the vertue of God, that worketh by them, or with them, remaineth. Thus for the vse of them, the Church hath Gods expresse commandement; for the effect, his conditionall promise; so that
 without

*Aquin. part. 3.
 quest. 62*

3. Pet. 1.

*Cent. Faust. cap.
 32.*

without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant assurance; as contrariwise, where the signes, and Sacraments of his grace are not, either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt; we are not to doubt, but that they really giue what they promise; and are what they signifie. For we take not the Sacraments (as it seemeth you doe) for bare resemblances, or memorials of things absent; neither for naked signes, and testimonies assuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are indeede and in truth) for meanes effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, deliuereth into our hands that grace, auailable vnto eternall life; which grace, the Sacraments represent or signifie: And yet we acknowledge as *Hugo* saith, that the Sacraments, being, as he calleth them, vessels of grace, they cure not of them selues, no more then glasses, doe the sick; but the potions contained in them. Neither doth any man say, (no not the Church of Rome) (although they be so accused by some of vs) that the Sacraments, worke of themselves, by a vertue resigned vnto them, without God, meerely of the worke don actively; but that God worketh by them, as by instruments powerfull, and thought in his wisdom fittest. For doubles, the Church hath authority to vse the word, and the Sacraments, as powerfull meanes, of regeneration, both hauing by a diuine ordination, a force, and vertue to beget faith: and therefore iustly amongst all the treasures, that God hath left vnto his Church, we honor and admire most, the holy Sacraments; not respecting so much the seruice, which we do vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignity of that sacred and secret giift; which we thereby receiue from God. And therefore, when our Church saith, that Sacraments are not only markes of Christian profession, but rather certaine testimonies, and effectual signes of Grace, and of the goodwill of God towards vs, by which God worketh inuifible in vs, we thereby conceiue, how grace is indeed the very end, for which these heavenly mysteries were

Lib. 1. de Sac.

cap. 4

Bel. Tom. 3. lib. 2

de Sac. cap. 1

Caluin lib. 4. in 3

cap. 14. scil. 17.

Eccles. Aug.
art. 25.

Alia sunt sacramenta salutis, alia promittentia salutem. Aug. in Psal. 73.

Exhibitio. Zanch. in decal. lib. 1. cap. 16. pag. 396.

Tit 3. 5.

were instituted; and besides, sundry other properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist is such, as signifieth, figureth, and representeth their end: For surely sacraments are the powerfull instruments of God, vnto eternall life. For as the naturall life consisteth in the vnion of the body with the soule; so the spiritual life in the vnion of the soule with God: And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man, without that meane betwene both, which is both; nor this participated to vs, without the sacraments; the vertue must needs bee great, that God by these imparteth vnto his Church. For they are signes, not only signifying, but (as *M. Zanchius* saith) exhibiting also inuisible grace. For God directly affirmeth, that he giueth that with the signe, which by the signe he representeth. In the Sacraments, wee acknowledge three things: The Word, the Element, the thing signified by the word; and represented by the element; and all these vnited, yet not by any reall, or physicall vnion, that one cannot bee receiued without the other; but in these the vnion is sacramental, and the order mysticall, betwixt the signes, and the things signified, by an institution from God: Whereby it cometh to passe, that heavenly and spirituall things by signes bodily, and earthly are signified, offered, and by the vertue of the holy Ghost, really exhibited, and performed vnto the elect. Thus if either the signes, or the thing signified be wanting, it ceaseth truly to bee a sacrament. Neither is grace, necessarily tied euer, to the externall sacrament: for we giue the one, and God giueth the other; and when both are giuen, then is the sacrament faithfully receiued. Thus God iustifieth by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the holy Ghost: for this being the effect of his promise; the sacraments apply it vnto vs, by thus giuing it, faith by thus receiuing, both being as instruments. For God doth iustifie, by the sacraments, man by faith; but God one, and the same, maketh righteous, by both; he being the author from whence they both come. Therefore it is a branch of beleefe (howsoeuer you scoffe

at it as omitted in our Creed) that sacraments are in their place, as Maister *Hooker* saith, no lesse required, then beleeve it self. For when our Saviour promiseth eternall life, it is with this condition, as health to *Naaman* the Syrian,

Hook. booke. 5

pag. 133

2. King. 5. 14.

Wash and be cleane. But you are afraid to say that the Sacraments beget faith, although you confesse that they do increase it: Surely this is a feare like to the disposition of some melancholic humour, where fancie growing strong, forceth an auoidance of things, oftentimes that are without daunger: for to make Sacraments, and the word, to be ioyned with faith, both in his generation, and in our justification, is neither to rob faith of his proper office, nor to ascribe more vnto the Sacraments, then of right belongeth. For we are not in anie doubt to affirme, that the Sacraments by the worke done actiuelly, doe not afford grace, though rightly vnderstood, passiuely they may, by the worke done: for in that iustification, and meanes of righteousness, whereof man is made partaker by the Sacraments, manie things concur. First in Gods behalfe, a will that we should vie those sensible elements; in Christs behalfe, his passion, from which the sacraments haue their vertue; in the Ministers behalfe, his power, his will; in the receiuers behalfe, will, faith, repentance; in respect of the Sacrament it selfe, the externall action, which ariseth out of the fit application of the matter, & the form of the Sacraments. Now that which in all this, actiuelly, and instrumentally bringeth grace, is the externall action, which is commonly called the Sacrament: This hauing his vertue from his institution, and not from anie merit, either in the Minister, or in him that receiueth. For the wil of God, which vseth the Sacraments as that meanes of grace, which it hath ordained, concurrerth actiuelly, but as a principall cause; the passion of Christ concurrerth, as a cause meritorious; the power and the will of the Minister, necessarily concurre, but as causes further remoued; hauing their vse only in effecting the sacramentall action; in whose due circumstances, of administering, he is vi-

100 Article. 15. *Of Christs institution.*

willing to faile. Will, faith, and repentance, are necessarily required in the receiuer, that is of yeares; not as actiue causes, but as fit dispositions, for the subiect; for faith, and repentance, make not the sacramentall grace, nor giue power to the Sacrament, but onely remoue those lets, which are hindrances, that the Sacraments exercise not that vertue, that is annexed to them. So that in infants, in whom no such disposition is required, the sacrament of Baptisme is auailable without these. And therefore to sa-

tisfie your demands in this Article, wee conclude that a man dying without faith, and receiuing the sacramentall signes (for sacraments he cannot receiue) shall not be saued; and not receiuing them (if his want bee for either negligence, or contempt) may be saued. Yet the latter to vs is fearefull, and ordinarily, impossible; whereas the former is an euidence of our hope, and giueth most iust reason charitably to iudge. So that we say with Saint *Aufm*, he that eateth, and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damuation, but he that contemneth to eate hath not life; and therefore shall not come to eternall life. And yet those things that hurt the vnworthy receiuer, do much profit him who receiue them, as he ought.

*Dente non corde,
seris non intus.*

Aug.

*Habent ad ressi-
monium dam-
nationis, non ad
adiutorium sani-
tatis. Arg. contra
luter. Petil. lib. 2.*

cap. 21.

1. Cor. 11

Tom. 6. lib. 13.

cont. Faustum

Manich. cap. 16.

cont. epist. Par-

men. lib. 2.

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christs Institution.



It is not an apprehension equally incident vnto the iudgments of all wise men, rightly to conceiue the true dependance of things; for those who allow, and confesse actions, to haue much vertue, oftentimes do mistake, from whence that vertue cometh: this, as it happeneth in causes of more vsuall, and knowue nature; so it is sometimes, euen in those things, where the authour is but one, and he incomparably the best: Because he vouchsafeth to admit instruments, of a

lower

lower condition, to be agents in the performance of things
 of so great an use. This maketh men, in the sacraments,
 those holy institutions of God, left vnto the Church, of-
 ten to faile, in a due estimation of them: And when they
 do graunt, their use to be singular; yet euen then, to doubt
 whereupon this dependeth; because the same things per-
 formed by diuers, are not the same; and those which ad-
 mit no difference, in respect of substance, yet are subiect, in
 regard of some circumstance, to an alteration, either more,
 or lesse. From hence hath proceeded, the difference in this
 article, which ouer violently you vrge to be betwixt Mai-
 ster *Hooker* and our Church; of whom (as vsually you do)
 you carie too ielous a suspicion, of too great agreement
 with the Church of Rome. That sacraments haue a vertue,
 euen more then to be onely signes, is already proued: but
 whether this vertue be lesse, where the Minister hath more
 faults, or none at all, where his intention is not to admini-
 ster a sacrament, that commeth now to be discussed in this
 place. To make the Sacraments, depend for their grace,
 vpon the integritie of men, were to denie the benefit to a
 great number without cause, and to punish men, for
 a fault that were none of theirs. The first of these is de-
 nied by fewe; nay, some are so farre from opinion, that sin
 in the Minister, is anie let to the sacrament, that they are
 not affraid to affirme, that Sacraments are effectually,
 though administred by Satan himselfe. Doubtlesse fewe (sa-
 uing onelie some Anabaptists) denie the efficacie of the
 Sacraments, for the defects of life, in the lawfull dis-
 pensers of them. They are inestimable fauours, vnto Gods
 Church, not to be measured by the hand, from whom im-
 mediately wee receiue them, but by that Almighty po-
 wer, the fountaine of all goodnesse, from whence they
 do first come. For as, amongst men it were want either of
 iudgement, or ciuilitie, or both, lesse to esteeme of the
 benefit, for the meannesse of the messenger, where we are
 vndoubtedly assured, that it is the princes scale: so, in the

*Luth de Missa
 priuat. edit. anno
 1534.*

Sacraments, we must esteeme them, as the scales, & fauours of God himselfe, whatsoeuer the imperfections are, in those Ministers, from whom we haue them. For the defects of men, being in the Church, and lawfully called to those functions, no way touch the efficacie of the Sacraments, whose vertue dependeth vpon a higher power: And therefore we denie all reiteration of Baptisme, whatsoeuer the defects for manners are in those, that do first giue it. For we are equally baptized, into the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy-ghost, what vnworthines, or inequality soeuer, remaine in the persons, that do baptize. For the holinesse of the Sacraments, is no way polluted, by the vncleannesse of the handes that giue them. For those Sacraments, which vnreuerently being handled, as Saint *Austin* saith, doe hurt the giuer, yet cuen by their hands profit those that receiue them worthily. It was both in Asia, and Africk, an error longe since, that the Sacraments were not firme, which were administred by Heretickes, or Schismatickes, separated from the vniy of the Church. The first author of this, was *Agrippinus* Bishop of Carthage, whom Saint *Cyprian* succeeded, as Saint *Austine* writeth; and was a little infected with the same errour. After these were the Donatists: but we wil not labour for confirmation of this point, because, you obiect nothing against Master *Hooker* in it. And it is no controuersie at all, betwixt vs and the Church of Rome: and therefore we say, with the auncient Fathers, *Stephanus, Siricius, Innocentius* the first, *Leo, Anastasius* the second, in his epistle to *Anastasius* the Emperour; with the counsels; first the generall counsell of *Nice*, often alledged by Saint *Austin* to this end; the first counsell of Carthage, the last assembly at Trent; with the testimonies of Fathers, and Doctors, and according to the articles of our Church by you alledged; That by the malice of wicked men, which are ouer the administration of the Sacraments, the effect of the thing ordeined by *Christ*, is not taken away

Aug. cont. Dona-
tist. lib. 4. cap. 13

Cont. epist. Parm.
lib. 2. cap. 10.

Euseb. lib. 7.
hist. cap. 6. & c. 2

Lib. 2. de Baptis.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap.
2. in epist. ad
Himerium.
Epist. 22. ad
Maced. episc.
Epist. 77. ad Ni-
cetam.
Lib. 2. de Bapt.
cap. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 9
circa Ann. 327.
Eccles. Angl.
art. 16.

away, or the grace of Gods giuft diminished, as touching them which receiue by faith, and orderly, the things offered vnto them; which for the institutio of Christ, and his promise, are effectually, although they be administred by euill men. But to inferre heereupon, that the same actions, howsoever don scoffingly, and in iest, contrary, or besides the holy institution of the Church, are truly Sacraments; It is a conclusion too violent, and not warranted by any truth. For howsoever, the grace of Sacraments dependeth not vpon the Minister, who maie faile of these vertues, that are fitte to bee required in him: yet it is necessarie, that there should bee an intention to administer a true Sacrament, least we put no difference betwixt that, which either derision, imitatio, chance, or the Church doth. For if the conuersion of *Lucius* first Christian king of this land, were to be acted vpon a stage, and that two persons, were to represent, *Eugenius* and *Damianus*, sent by *Eleutherius* the Pope, to baptize *Lucius*, could any man in reason thinke, how orderly soeuer performed; that this were true bapisme? were not this, to make the bare action, all, and the intention a circumstance not belonging to it? But we must know, as *M. Hooker* saith, that Sacraments are actions, mysticall and religious (for no man can truly define them otherwise) which nature, they haue not, vlesse they proceede from a serious meaning: yet what euery mans priuate minde is as we cannot know; so neither are we bound to examine; for in these cases, the knowne intent of the Church, doth generally suffice; and where the contrary is not manifest, (as circumstances will serue easily to discouer) we must presume, that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God. Now, this beeing a discreet rule, wisely to put a difference betwixt Sacraments (holie actions) and the like irreligious, and prophane performed, is that, whereat your zealous wisdom, doth take offence; and which you pursue with that bitterness of speech, (calling it meere Popery, a humane inuention, and inducement

Circum. 164

Hook. lib. 5.
pag. 139.

ducemēt to *sides implicita*) as though the dangers were neither few, nor small, which came vnto y^e Church by this opinion. Let me intreat your patience a litle, & vouchsafe to be but aduised by him, who in all humilitie wil be readie to follow y^e sound directions of the meaneſt in Gods church; and I doubt not, to make it apparant, that Maister *Hooker* hath deliuered that truth, the contrary wherof, is no way fit, to be admitted, or allowed by vs. Some are of opinion, that no intention at all is required in the Ministers of the Sacraments, but that if the thing, and the words be present, though either in iest, or otherwise performed, yet notwithstanding it is a Sacrament. The first Author of this, as *Bellarmino* saith, was *Luther*, whose words I must needs say, are violently wrested, to make him speake that which he neuer ment. It is like that he out of whom by misunderstanding you haue collected this opinion, was Maister *Caluyn*; who rightly deriuing the vertue of Sacraments from the Minister to God himselfe the author of the first institution, saith thus; I refer, so much to the holy institution of Christ, that if an Epicure, inwardely deriding the whole action, should administer the supper, by the commandement of Christ (marke the words) and according to the rule by him giuen, (which no man could that wanted the intention of the Church) I would account them, saith he, the true pledges of the body, and the blood of Christ: Where we are willing to confesse with him and with truth it selfe, that Sacraments for their vertue, depēd not vpon the intention of the Minister, though without the intention of the Church they are not Sacraments. Where, by intention we meane not a particular purpose, of all that the Sacraments require, (a thing peradventure aboue the capacity of many lawfull Ministers) but a generall intention, of performing that sacred action, according to the meaning of the Church: Where, by church we mean not any one particular, but the true Church; or as *M. Caluyn* saith, Christs rule, or that intention which Christians in that action haue; and yet if one in this should follow the intention

But Sacramen-
tum est Sacra-
mentum.

Lib. 1. de Sacra-
mentis. cap. 27.
Lib. de missa
primata.

In audit. concii.
lii. Trid. sess. 7.
can. 2.

intention of a particular Church that did erre, it were not a reason sufficient to make the Sacrament to be none at all: for euen his intention, in following that particular Church though erring, were an intentio of following the true Church that doth not erre. Neither is it required, as the scholemen say, that this intention necessarily be actual, nor it sufficeth not, to be habituall, (which may be in men either drunke or asleepe) but vertuall, that is, in the power of that intention, which howsoever now distracted, before was actuall: Neither doe we meane, that the Minister should necessarily haue the same intent of the end, which the Church hath, but of the action; the end being perhaps, without the compasse of his knowledg, but the action cannot; vnlesse we suppose him to be a Minister weaker then any church hath. For it is one thing, to intend what the Church intendeth, and another thing, to intend what the Church doth: For those that intend by baptisme, an vtter acquittance from originall sinne, and those that doe not, there is a diuersitie in the end, but the action is all one; and therefore not reiterated, though the end be diuers. Now to do the externall action, and yet in iest, is no more to doe, what the Church intendeth to doe, then their speech, and action (*Hail King of the Iewes*) was any honor, or true reuerence to our Sauour Christ. The necessity of this intention, (not for grace, but to make it a Sacramentall action) will more evidently appeare, if wee consider what kinde of instrument the Minister is. Man may be the instrument of another agent many waies: First in respect only of his bodily members, his hand, his backe or such like; without any vse of the will. Secondly, in respect of his outward parts, with the vse of sense; as to reade, to watch, to tell what he seeth; and to this also, the will is no further required, but to the outward action. Thirdly, in respect of the bodily members, together with sense and reason, as in Iudges appointed by Princes to determine causes, wherein wisdom and the will are to be instruments. Now the Ministers of the Sacrament,

Tho. Aquin. part.

3. quest. 64.

art. 8.

Lib. 2. de sacra.
part. 6. cap. 13.

Perle. vpon the
Lords prayer.
pag. 143. imp.
1596.

Ruff. lib. 10.
cap. 14.

Serem. lib. 2. 16
Nicer. lib. 8. 40.

must be of this third kinde: And therefore saith *Hugo*, if a father should take his sonne to a bathe, and should say, Sonne, I wash thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, and so dip him in the water, it were ridiculous to thinke that hee were thus baptized. Where, although such prophaners are without excuse, for vnreuerend imitation of holy things, yet these actions, without the intention of the Church, can no wayes bee tearmed sacraments. For if those, who hold a sermon read, to be no sermon, and yet a prayer read, to be a prayer, require that the Spirit of grace, and prayer, bee not wanting in the partie reading, and the hearers; how can we thinke those actions to be sacramentall, where in the Minister, there is not so much as an intention, that they should be sacraments? And therefore, saith *Hugo*, in the place before alleaged, *Alexander* the Bishop held the Baptisme that *Arbamasius* ministred to other boyes in play, to be true Baptisme, because he did it with an intention of true Baptisme. In those that are but instruments (as the minister is no more) the vertues of faith, hope, and charitie, are not requisite; and yet because they are reasonable instruments, their actions must proceede from election, and intention. Therefore we conclude, that this intention of the Church, is no ground of vncertaintie, seeing she tendeth but one thing; that is, to performe them as Sacraments; nor giueth any power to the vertue of the Sacrament; and that the Church cannot make a Sacrament; but to distinguish betwixt actions religious, and the same not religious, there is required the intention of the Church.

ARTICLE.

ARTICLE XVI.

Of the necessitie of Baptisme.

WHere many things are doubted of without reason, it is neither easie, nor vsually expedient to answer all. Wisdome esteemeth it much fitter, to passe by without yeelding satisfaction to some apparant truths called in question, rather then by answering, to let the simple vnderstand, that men haue doubted of those points. For the first calling in question of vnfallible truths, gaue strength to euill minds, to find out all shewes of reason, for maintaining of those things, which their owne weaknesse at first made them simply to mistake. So that, whosoeuer maketh euerie doubt to bee a contention, or laboureth to confute errors of long continuance, in the first, kindleth but that sparke, which without some breath would easily die; and in the latter, must arme himselfe to encounter an obstinate resolution. The consideration of this, made me not willing, either to dispute the newe borne doubts of your owne in this Article, which being discussed in time, might grow to be old errors, or to bestowe labour, for the assitting of that truth, which 'out of great iudgement, and learning, hath often beene defended by other mens paines. But seeing it is an vsuall false conclusion, as to argue a lawfulnessse from what we doe, so a want of abilitie from what we doe not; I thought it fitter, euen following their steps that haue gone before me, rather to resolue others what you haue doubted of in this point, then that any should conclude out of silence, an impossibilitie that you could be answered. For the willingnes that some men haue, to do more then they are able, maketh others suspected, to want abilitie, in whom there appeareth not the same willingnesse. If al men rightly considered in those actions that concerne mans saluation, how farre we are

tied not onely in obedience, but for vse, to those things
 that are meanes to effect the same; few would haue beene
 so carelesly resolute, to contemne good works, through
 an opinion of an eternall election, or so negligently haue
 despised the onely doore of entrance into the Church
 (Baptisme) through an opinion that God doth saue, euen
 where this is wanting. We do all confesse, that Baptisme
 is a sacrament of regeneration, or new birth, by water in
 the word of life; that it is a signe, nay a meanes of ini-
 tiation, whereby we are coopted into the societie of the
 Church: Thus, by this being ingrafted into Christ, we may
 be taken for the sonnes of God; and so receiue newe
 names to bee called Christians: And therefore learned
 men, haue thought it to bee the doore of our actuall en-
 trance into Gods house; the first apparant being of life, as
 Saint *Basil* calleth it; the first step of our sanctification, as
 Master *Hooker* saith. For as we are not naturally men, with-
 out birth, so neither are we Christian men, in the eye of
 the Church, without new birth; we say in the eye of the
 Church: for we take not vpon vs, to see as God doth, who
 knoweth without all meanes, both to make, and without
 visible tokens, is able to discern who belong vnto him:
 And yet in our eye, Baptisme is that, which both declareth,
 and maketh vs to be Christians. Therefore it is a strange
 opinion of them, who say, that he which is not a Chri-
 stian before baptisme, cannot be made a Christian by bap-
 tisme; which is onely the scale of the grace of God, be-
 fore receiued. These, as it seemeth you doe, eleuate too
 much the ordinarie and immediate meanes of life, relying
 wholly vpon the bare conceit, of that eternall election,
 which notwithstanding includeth a subordination of
 meanes; without which, we are not actually brought to
 inioy what God secretly did intend: And therefore to
 build vpon Gods election, if we keepe not our selues to
 the wayes which he hath appointed for men to walke in,
 is but a selfe deceiuing vanitie: for all men notwithstan-
 ding their preordination vnto life (which none can know
 but

Roman. Cate-
chil.

Cal. lib. 4. 209.

Hook. lib. 5. pag
131.

T.C. lib. 3. p.
134.

but God only) are in the Apostles opinion, till they haue imbraced the truth, but the children of wrath as well as others. And howsoever the children of the faithfull, are borne holy, as you alleage out of y^e reuerend Bishop; & the Elect, are adopted to be the sons of God in their predestination, afterwards whē they belecue, then they are said more properly to be the sons of God indeed: for although it be true as Saint *Paul* saith, that your sonnes are holy, namely, when they are borne, by reason of the promise, yet he saith, that we are sanctified by faith, meaning actually and indeed. For as kings (in those kingdomes that are by election) are first chosen, then designed, then crowned, which last action is that which maketh them full, and compleate kings; so whatsoever we were, in that secret election to vs vnknowne, yet then, when we are baptized, and not before, we are properly, publicly, solemnly ioyned vnto God, and admitted into his Church: Yet we exclude not (neither doth any that I know) these benefits thus bestowed, ordinarily, in, and with Baptisme, but that extraordinarily (sometimes before, as in *Paul* and *Cornelius*; sometimes after, as in many baptized by heretikes; sometimes without, as in those who preuent their baptism by martyrdom, and some others) these benefits may be bestowed. For it were a fearefull doctrine, inuiours to many thousands soules, and blasphemous against the bottomles mercie of a most louing father, to exclude all those from eternall life, whom not negligence, or contempt, but some other occasion hath hindred to be baptized. And therefore it is strange, that you would make *M. Hooker* to speake for so absolute a necessitie (which indeed he doth not) but maketh it limited; or that your self would dislike a necessity, wheras you confesse, this to be the condition of baptism, if it cannot be had as it ought. The matter then principally talled in question in this Article, is what kind of necessity there is of baptism; a thing already fully handled by *M. Hooker*; & therefore we will be more sparing in this point. All things, which either are known cau-

Ephe 1. 3. 12.
Iewel in the
Def. of Apol.
2. pt. pag. 150

1. Cor. 7.

Zench in decal.
pag. 400.

1. Cor. 11.

In the Letter
pag. 31. lin. 16.

Lib. 5. pag. 130.

ses, or fit meanes, whereby any great good is visually procured, or men deliuered fro greuous euil, the same we must needs confesse necessarie: now we know there is a necessity absolute, & there is a necessity conditionall, & even that conditional for the end in ordinary estimation, is absolutely necessarie. Thus to a man in the sea, to escape drowning, we account a ship a necessary meanes, euen of absolute necessity in respect of our iudgement, howsoeuer some few, haue escaped by other meanes; so our Sauour saith of Baptisme, vlesse a man be borne againe of water, and of the Holy-ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. Which place we vnderstand, howsoeuer some deny it, of Baptisme, by materiall water, according to the generall content of the auncient Fathers: For it is a rule in expounding the Scriptures, that where a literall construction will stand, (as in this place) the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. And therefore water, & the spirit both concurring in that sacrament, why should there not be, though not an equall, yet a necessity of both. For as the spirit is necessary to regeneratio, so regeneratio is necessary to eternal life, which so far dependeth vpo the outward sacramēt, that God wil haue it imbraced not only as a signe or token what we receiue, as you affirme, but also as an instrument, or meane, whereby we receiue it; and this without any intralling, as you seeme to feare, of Gods mercifull grace: Neither, as *Hugo* saith, doe these giue, (speaking of the Sacraments) that which is giuen by these, and yet ordinarily as necessary to receiue these, as those graces are necessary which we receiue by these. For, though Baptisme bee not a cause of grace, yet the grace which is giuen by baptisme, doth so far depend vpon the very outward sacrament, as God will haue it imbraced as a necessary meanes, whereby we receiue the same: and howsoeuer we dare not iudge those, that in some cases do want it, yet we may boldly gather, that he, whose mercy now vouchsafeth to bestowe the meanes, hath also long since intended vs that wherunto they leade. For to imagine

Ioh. 3. 5

*Non enim ista
tribunt quod
per ista tribui-
tur. Hugo, de
Sacro, lib. cap. 3*

imagine, nothing necessary but faith, is to come neere the error of the old Valentinian hereticks, who ascribed all to knowledge only. So faith *Tertullian*. Some account the Sacraments, as vnprofitable without faith, so needeles where faith is; but no faith can bee profitable, faith *Saint Bernard* to him, who when he may, yet refuseth to receiue the Sacraments. Therefore if Christ himselfe, which giueth saluation, require Baptisme, it is not for vs to dispute or examine, whether those that are vn baptized, may be saued, but seriously to doe that, which is required, and religiously to feare the danger; which may grow by the want thereof. For doubtles, the sacrament of Baptisme, in respect of God the author of the institution, may admit dispensation; but in respect of vs, who are tyed to obeie, there is an absolute necessity. For it is in the power, of God without these to saue; but it is not in the power of man, without these to come to saluation. And yet the Church holdeth constantly, as well touching other beleeuers, as Martyrs, that Baptisme taken away by necessity, taketh not away the necessity of Baptisme; but is supplied by the desire therof. For what is there in vs, saith *Saint Ambrose*, more then to will and to seeke for our owne good. Thy seruant *Valentinian* (who died before he was baptized) Oh Lord, did both. For as the visible signe, may be without true holinesse, so the inuisible sanctification, saith *Saint Austin*, may sometimes be without the visible signe: And yet these are no iust reasons, either to make vs presume, or to take away the necessity of this holy sacrament: For euen those haue it in their wishe, as the Schoolemen say, who indeed do want & same. And howsoeuer, as they of Rhemes confesse, such may be the grace of God towards men, that they may haue remissio, justification & sanctificatio before the external sacrament of Baptisme; as in *Peters* preaching they all receiued the Holy-ghost before the sacrament; yet this is no ordinary thing now in infants; and whosoever therefore shal contemne them, cannot be saued. Yet God, who hath not bound his grace, in respect of his owne freedome,

Iren. con. Her. lib. 1. cap. 18. De baptis.

Epist. 70. ad. Hugs.

Hug. de sacra. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Lib. 3. quest. 2. et. Test. cap. 84

Aqui. part. 3.

quest. 68

Art. 2. voto, non

re.

In Act. Apost. 10

Sect. 9

Rhem. test. in
Iob. 3. scil. 2.

Wil. 4. 7

De doctrin
Christi lib. 3
cap. 3.

Petrus erat Chri-
stus. 1 Cor. 10
Coloss. 1.

Lib. 5. Pag. 135

freedome, to any Sacrament, may, and doth accept them as baptized, which either are martyred before they could be baptized, or else depart this life, with wiue and desire to haue that Sacrament, which by some remedies necessity, they could not obtaine. For the iust, by what death soeuer he be preuented, his soule shall be in rest. And whereas you demaund, whether our sacraments be not the same in nature, vertue, and substance, that the sacraments of the *Iewes* were vnder the law; and therefore baptisme to be of no more necessity, then circumcision; we answere with Saint *Austin*: The Sacraments deliuered by Christ, are for number fewer; (taking, as Maister *Zanchy* noteth, sacraments largely for al those ceremonies as he did) for performance easier; for vnderstanding more excellent; for obseruation more chaste. And therefore, though all sacraments for their substance be one, (that is Christ) and that more particularly baptisme succeedeth circumcision: yet their difference is great, both in their rites which were diuers, & in the maner of the object; the one Christ to come, the other already come; the one a corporall benefit, to be of that Church which should haue her certaine seate vntill the comming of the Messias, in the land of Canaan; the other expecting a spiritual kingdom. The one, bounde, to an obseruation of the whole lawe, Ceremoniall, Iudiciall, Morall; the other only to the moral law; and for want of true fulfilling of it, to faith and repentance. The one to Israel only, the other to the whole Church. The one to continue, till the comming of the Messias in humility, the other vntill his comming in glory: The one belonged vnto the males only, the other to all. So that as the differences were many, and not small; euen so we doubt not to affirme, that the benefits are far more; and the necessity is much greater. And therefore, as Maister *Hooker* saith, we haue for baptisme no day set, as the Iewes had for circumcision; neither haue we by the law of God; but only by the Churches discretion, a place therunto appointed. Baptisme therefore euen in the meaning

meaning of the law of Christ, belógeth vnto infants capable thereof, fró the very instant of their birth; which if they haue not howsoeuer, rather then lose it by being put off, because some circumstances of solemnity do not concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth (marke the words), for she cannot disappoint Gods eternall election) but as far as is in her power, by denying the meanes, casteth away their soules: and therefore there is a more absolute necessity, in the Church to giue Baptisme, which she can neuer willingly refuse to doe without cruelty; then there is in the faithfull to receiue it, who, how willing soeuer, yet alwaies cannot.

ARTICLE XVII.

Of Transubstantiation.



Being the Church, hath nothing left vnto it, either more powerful, or more reuerently to be esteemed, then the holy Sacraments; it hath bin the policie of Satan, from the beginning, to darken the cleere light of these, with infinit clouds of vnnecessary questions, wholly impertinent, and vnprofitable to that cause. So that out of due consideration of this great euill, wisemen haue thought it more fit, by application, to make vse of that, which concernes them in this kinde, rather then by curious inquisition to desire, to finde out, what concerneth them not. The whole benefit, which the Church hath, is from Christ; and this by no other meanes but by participation: For Christ to be what he is, is not to be what he is to the Church, but only by a participation of all that he is, (as a mediator) betwixt him and vs. This we call the mutual, inward hold, which Christ hath of vs and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other, by way of speciall interest, properly, and inherient copulation: for what soeuer we are externally,

114 Article. 17. Of Transubstantiation.

Col. 1. 10.

Ioh. 14. 19.

Gal. 1. 20.

nally, according to his election, wee are actually no longer in God, then onely from the time of our actual adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowship of his children: wee are therefore adopted sonnes of God to eternall life by participation of the onely Sonne of God, whose life is the wellspring & cause of ours. This participation, besides the presence of Christs person, and besides the mysticall copulation thereof, with the parts and members of his whole Church, importeth a true actual influence of grace, whereby the life which we liue, according to godlinesse, is his, and from him wee receiue those perfections, wherein our eternal happinesse consisteth. This is partly by imputation of his merit; partly by habituall, and reall infusion of his grace; the first whereof, as the ground of all the rest, being the Spirit, maketh a blessed vnion of all those, howlocuer distinguishing, by place, or time, who mystically belong vnto that body; and this being the common vnion of all Saints, we fitly terme, the communion of Saints. That of imputation, maketh vs al sonnes, in which number, how farre so euer one may seeme to excel another; yet touching this, that all are sons, they are all equals; some happily better sonnes then the rest are, but none anie more a sonne, then another. Neither doth this participation, include anie grosse surmise, of any mixture of the substance of his flesh with ours, but is actually deuied vnto his Church, by the vse of his holy Sacraments: Wherein Baptisme doth challenge vnto it self, the inchoation of those graces, the consummation whereof dependeth vpon other mysteries. For the grace which we haue, by the holy Eucharist, doth not begin, but continue life; and therefore no man receiueth it before Baptisme, because nothing is capable of nourishment, that doth not liue. Now life being propounded to all men as their end; those which by Baptisme haue laid the foundation, and attained the first beginning of a new life, haue in the Eucharist, foode prescribed and giuen, for the continuance of life in them. In both the same

Some thing being afforded (which is a participation of
 Christ) in our infancie we are incorporated into Christ,
 and by Baptisme receive the grace of his Spirit, without
 any sense or feeling of the gift, which God bestoweth. In
 the Eucharist we so receive the gift of God, that we know
 by grace, what the grace is, which God giueth vs. The
 degrees of our increase in holinesse, and vertue, we see,
 and can iudge of them; we vnderstand that the strength
of our life begun in Christ is Christ; that his flesh is meat,
and his blood drinke, not by furnished imagination, but
truly; euen so truly, that through faith we perceiue in the
body and blood sacramentally presented, the verie taste
of eternall life: the grace of the Sacrament is heere as
the food which wee eate and drinke. And howsoever
 it was to bee feared, that by the meanes of some, men
 should be brought to account of this Sacrament, but on-
 ly as of a shadow, destitute, empie, and void of Christ;
 yet now at length, for any thing that I can see, all sides are
 growne, as it is fit, to a generall agreement concerning
 that which alone is materiall, namely, the real partici-
pation of Christ, and of life, in his body and blood, by
meanes of this Sacrament. The manner how, which ought
 to be the least part of our consideration, is in this questi-
 on, the greatest difference: So that, considering the small
 successe, that bitter contentions haue had in this cause,
 it were to be wished, that men would giue themselves,
 more to meditate with silence, what they haue by the
 sacrament; and in humilitie, lesse to dispute, of the manner
 how: This being the true difference betwixt Christes
 disciples, and others; that the one, because they enjoy-
 ed not, disputed: the other disputed not, because they
 enjoyed. For doubtlesse this heavenly food, is giuen for
the satisfying of our empie soules, and not for the exer-
cising of our curious, and subtile wits. It is sufficient
 that the sacraments shall exhibit, what they promise;
 though they are not really, or doe not really containe
 in themselves, that grace, which with them, or by them,

Lib. 5. pag. 176.

it pleaseth God to bestow. Now the first by all sides being granted, why doe we vainly (saith Maister *Hooker*) trouble our selues with so fierce contentions, whether by consubstantiation, or els by Transubstantiation, the sacrament it selfe, be first posselt with Christ or no? a thing which no way can either further, or hinder vs, howloeu it stand, because our participation of Christ in the sacrament, dependeth vpon the cooperation of his omnipotent power, which maketh it his body and blood to vs, whether with change, or without alteration of the element, such as they imagine; we need not greatly to care or enquire for: That being admitted, wherein all agree, (which is a reall presence) why should not the rest in question, rather be left as superfluous, then vrged as necessarie. This is that, which being vittered by Maister *Hooker*, out of great wisdom, argueth as you surmise, that hee maketh light of the doctrin of Transubstantiation; whereas the reuerend Fathers of our Church, doe so much detest it; and that so many blessed Martyrs, haue suffered death for denial thereof. Whether the doctrine of Transubstantiation be true, or false (howloeu it is plaine what Maister *Hooker* thought) yet, that is no part of the contention at this time. The matter in question betwixt you and him is only this: Whether it be not curiosity, to contend for the manner, how, seeing all sides are agreed, that the thing is. For as in those who were to bee cured, by our Sauour Christ, we ought not curiously to enquire howe the hem of his garment had such vertue, but faithfully to beleue that it was able to afford health; so neither in this need the church to be inquisitiue after what maner, Christ presenteth himselfe, but truly to beleue that he is there present. Which because some irreligious men, at the first doubted; men haue beene drinen to find out these reasonable satisfactions, or rather satisfactions to humane reason, from his omnipotencie, *Transubstantiation*, *Consubstantiation*, or such like; whereas indeed we know, that in many mysteries of our faith, it is sufficient to beleue the

the thing, though wee cannot comprehend the meanes,
 how. Of this kind, saith *Bellarmino*, is the Trinitie of
 persons in the vnitie of essence: Christ to bee both God, *Lib. 2. de Sacra.*
 and man; the same bodies in number to rise againe; Christ *cap. 1.*
 really to be in the Eucharist; and such like, which by rea-
 son of our shallow vnderstanding, mans weaknesse is not
 able to comprehend. For if ignorance bee in these things *Eccle. 9.*
 that are below, then how much more in those things that
 are above. And if *Mophiboseth*, whē he came vnto *Dauid* *1. Sam. 9.*
 table, accounted himselfe in all humilitie, so farre vnwor-
 thie; what ought our contemplation to be, but of his mer-
 cie, and our want of desert, when we shall come to bee
 partakers of so inestimable fauours? For if the Bethsa- *1. Sam. 6.*
 mites were punished for looking into the Arke, what can
 we expect to be the recompence of our vndiscreete fol-
 lie? Is it not then an aduise needfull, which Maister *Hoo-*
ker giueth, and you mislike, rather to seek how to receiue
 it worthily, then to desire to know how it is present with
 vs? For the one importeth a duty that is necessary, and the
 other bewrayeth a desire, that is superfluous; in the one,
 we performe what God hath commanded, and in the o-
 ther, affect, what he hath forbiddē. Neither is this to make
 Transubstantiation (for deniall whereof so many, as you
 say, haue died) any light matter, but rather to shew, the
 gre at depth of the mystery, and the small profit, that is
 reaped by the searching of it: for seeing it is on all sides
 plainly confest; first, that this Sacrament is a true, and
 reall participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth
himselfe, euen his whole entire person, as a mysticall
head, vnto euery soule that receiueth him, and that e-
uery such receiuer, doth thereby incorporate, or vnite
himselfe vnto Christ as a mysticall member of him, yea
of them also, whom he acknowledgeth to be his owne.
 Secondly, that to whom the person of Christ is thus
 communicated, to them he giueth by the same Sacrament
 his hply Spirit, to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth him which
 is their head. Thirdly, that what merit, force or vertue
 soeuer,

focuer, there is in this sacrificed body and bloud, we freely, fully, and wholly haue it by this sacrament. Fourthly, that the effect thereof in vs, is a reall transmutation of our soules and bodies, from sinne, to righteousness; from death and corruption, to immortalitie and life. Fifthly, that because the Sacrament, being of it selfe but a corruptible and earthlie creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument, to worke so admirable effects in man; we are therefore to rest our selues, altogether vpon the strength of his glorious power, who is able and will bring to passe, that the bread and cup, which he giueth vs, shal be truly the thing he promiseth. Now seeing there are but three differing opinions, for the manner of it; Sacramentaries, Transubstantiation, and Consubstantiation; & al do pleade Gods omnipotencie; the first to that alteration which the rest couesse he accomplisheth; the patrons of transubstantiation, ouer and besides that, to the chang of one substance into another; the followers of consubstantiation, to the kneading vp of both substances as it were in one lump: and that in this varietie the mind which loueth truth & seeketh comfort out of holy mysteries, hath not perhaps the leasure, perhaps not the wit, nor capacity, to tread out so endlesse mazes, as the intricate disputes of this cause, haue led men into, how should a vertuously disposed minde, better resolue wth it selfe then thus? Variety of iudgements, and opinions argueth obscurity in those things where about they differ; but that which all parts receiue for certaine; that which euery one hauing sifted, is by no one denyed or doubted of, must needs be matter of infallible truth: whereas therefore there are but three expositions made of, This is my body; the first, this is in it selfe before participation, really, and truly the natural substance of my body, by reason of the coexistence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of breade, which is the Lutherans interpretation. The second, this is in it selfe, and before participation, the very true & natural substance of my body, by force of that

deity

deity, which by the words of consecration, abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body: which is the construction of the Church of Rome. The last, this hallowed food, through concurrence of diuine power, is in verity and truth, vnto faithfull receiuers, instrumentally a cause of that mysticall participation: whereby as I make my selfe wholly theirs, so I giue them in hand, an actual possession of all such saving grace, as my sacrificed body can yeeld, and all their soules do presently need: this is to them, and in them, my bodie. Of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing, but what the rest do all approue, and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the words of Christ, are on all sides confest to inforce: nothing but that which the Church of God hath alwayes thought necessarie: nothing but that which alone is sufficient, for euery Christian man to beleue, concerning the vse and force of this Sacrament: finally, nothing but that, wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant, and all Christian confessions agreeable: And as truth in what kinde soeuer, is by no kind of truth gainsaid: so the mind which resteth it selfe, on this, is neuer troubled with those perplexities, which the other doe both finde, by meanes of so great contradiction, betweene their opinions, & the true principles of reason; grounded vpon experience, nature, and sense. What moueth vs to argue how life should be bread, our duty being but to take, what is offred, and most assuredly to rest perswaded of this, that if we can but eat, we are safe? Such as loue piety will as much as in them lyeth, know all things, that God commandeth, but especially the duties of seruice which they owe vnto him: as for his darke and hidden workes, they preferre (as becommeth them in such cases) simplicity of faith, before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man can not search, chilleth for the most parte, all warmth of zeale, and bringeth soundnes of beleefe, many times into great hazard,

hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting my selfe at the Lords table, to know what there I receiue from him, without searching, or inquiring of the manner, how, Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions, enemies to piety, abatements of true deuotion, and hitherto in this case but ouer patiently heard, let them take their rest: Let curious and sharpe witted men beate their heads about what questions themselves will, the very letter of the word of Christ giueth plaine security, that these mysteries doe, as nailes, fasten vs to his Crosse, that by them we draw out (as touching efficacy, force, and vertue) euen the blood of his wounded side; that this breade hath more in it, then our eies behold; that this cup hallowed with solemne benediction, auaieth to the endlesse life, and welfare both of soule and body, in that it serueth, as well for a medecine to heale our infirmities, and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving, which touching it sanctifieth; it inlightneth with beleeft; it truly conformeth vs vnto the Image of *Iesus Christ*. What these elements are in themselves, it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them, they are the body and blood of *Iesus Christ*; his promise in witness hereof sufficeth; his word, he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possesse the minde of a faithfull communicant but this? Oh my God, thou art true! oh my soule, thou art happy! To dehort then from violence of disputing, and curiosity of seeking in a matter needlesse to know, being (as Maister *Caluin* saith) incomprehensible, what fault can you finde, in Maister *Hooker*? Doth he not dissuade from this in zeale, only to draw vs, to a better contemplation? Can this in reason be termed any gentle construction of popishe opinions, or priuily to rob the truth of our English creede of her due estimation? thinke not so vncharitably of one, whose principall care was, in the midst of all his knowledge, only to follow that truth, soundly, and vncorruptly, which was auailable and sufficient to saue himselfe. Many itch with

Of Speculative Doctrine. Article. 18. 121

with curiosity, they are not few, that doe blow contentions, to make them kindle; some desire to know, only that they may know; some others, that they may be knowne; he doubles, with humble sobriety, both in this and in all other points, to comprehend that which was most available for the true direction of others, and the saluation of his own soule. And therefore to your objections in this article, which are neither great, nor many; I haue framed my answer, most out of his mouth who fullest understood this cause, and ought to be esteemed, the best interpreter of his owne meaning.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Of Speculative doctrine.



Swife Physicians in the curing of some diseases; neglect not that habit of the body which when the disease is cured, may threaten a relapse, because evils past, leave a disposition for the like to come, and by returning are so much the more dangerous, by how much the strength of the sick is lesse able to make resistance; so saith it with vs, in the labour employed about these articles that follow: wherein if you had well considered, the serious superscription of your letter, that it was for resolution in matters of doctrine, & those of no small moment, but such as seeme (it is wel you said seeme) to overthrow the foundation of Christian religion, and of the church amongst vs; these articles that follow, might very fitly haue bin omitted by you. For though all that you object, be far fro that mature iudgment, which ought to bee in such as you desire to seeme; yet these, concerning speculative doctrine, the naming of Maister Calvin, Schoolemen, or Maister Hookers stile, how can they bee called matters of doctrine, or in any construction,

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be thought to weaken the foundation of the Church amongst vs? But seeing in the former we haue done somewhat to cure that distemper (the effect of too much choller) which being suffered to increase, might grow dangerous; it is not amisse gently to apply some thing, euen to these, which wanting the malice of any dangerous disease, yet are infallible tokens of a distempered habit. Neither neede we in this, to make anie other defence, for the right vse of those sentences, which you reprehend, sauing only to set downe to the readers eye, the sentence at large, which you haue maimed by seuering; and challenging him, in those things, which are incomparably excellent, you haue manifestly discovered your weaknesse of vnderstanding. But as in anie curious workmanship, where the parts are not disioined, there appeareth the admirable effects of a skilfull hand, which rudely being seuered, and rashly pulled in peeces, blemish the beautie of the former work, and make manie things seeme, in the eye of ignorance, to be idle, and of no vse; so fareth it with those speeches, which in this Article so vnreasonably are distastd by you, which if any indifferent reader, will but compare, with the places from whence you tooke them, he must needs be amazed, that things set downe with so much eloquence, and indgment, should be called in question, by so great a weaknesse of vnderstanding. The sentences by you alleaged, of *speculative doctrine* (as you call them) are onely eight, which if you had set downe at large, with that coherence, that hee did, doubtlesse you could not haue denied, to haue done Maister Hooker a greater honour; but being pretermitted, by what reason I know not, you haue hazarded the suspicion of intolerable ignorance: And vndoubtedly this Article alone, giueth full assurance, that this Letter could not possibly be the act of many, nor of any one, that had either charitie, leasure, or learning in any great abundance. The first *Theorem* (so you terme them in derision) not familiar to you common Christians, is this: That the number of naturall perfectiones: In which

which place Maister *Hooker*, speaking of paying of tythes, saith, as *Abraham* gaue voluntarily, as *Isaac* vowed to giue God tythes, so the law of *Moses* did require, at the hands of alme, the self same kind of tribute; the tenth of their corn, wine, oyle, fruit, cattell, and whatsoeuer encrease, his heauenly prouidence should send: Inlomuch that Painims being herein followers of their steps, paid tythes also. Imagine we, that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some speciall inducement, to iudge the tenth of our worldly profits, the most couenient for Gods portion? are not all things by him created in such sort, that the formes which giue their distinction are number; their operations measure; and their matter weight; three being the mysticall number of Gods vnsearchable perfection, within himselfe; seuen the number whereby our perfections through grace, are most ordered; and ten the number of Natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order, & the foundation of order is number, and of number ten the highest we can rise vnto, without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature, then by assigning vnto him, that quantity, which is the continent of all that she possesseth? Now let the Reader iudge, what reason you had to mislike that he called ten, the number of natures perfections. But in this the iniury you do to Maister *Hooker*, is not all; for thorough his sides you wound one, vpon whom, as *Steeus Senensis* saith, all the commendations of the Christian Fathers, are poured out; for he taketh this speech out of *Philo Iudeus*, in whom there are many excellent things to this purpose, and who was in all kind of learning, incomparably the most excellent in his time; in honour of whom the ancient Romans placed his workes, as euerlasting monuments in their publike Library. The second is this; *Angels permitte*, the hand that draweth out celestiall motifs: *Hook. lib. 5. pag. 190.* Where *M. Hooker* speaking of the reuolutio of time, which bringeth with it, a reiteration of Saints memories, saith; as the substance of God alone is infinite, and hath no kind of

Phil. hist. natur. lib. 12. cap. 14.

Philo. Iud. lib. 4. biblia.

Hook. lib. 5. pag. 190.

limitatio; so likewise his continuance, is from everlasting to everlasting, & knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonstrable conclusion, being presupposed, it followeth necessarily, that besides him, all things be finite: it cannot be but that there are bounds, without the compass whereof their substance doth not extend; if in continuance also limited, they all haue it, cannot bee denied their set and their certaine termes, before which they had no being at al. This is the reason why first we do most admire those things which are greatest; & secondly, those things which are ancientest, because the one, are lesse distant from the infinite substance; the other, from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that onely God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to say, continuance; wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the noblest, and perfectest things besides, haue continually through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthened: so that they could not heretofore be said to haue continued so long as now; neither now so long, as hereafter. Gods owne eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the course of their perpetuity, the hand that draweth out celestially motion, the line of which motion, and the threed of time, are spun together. What could haue beene more excellently spoken, to haue set downe the frame, and dependance of things, euē lineally deriued from the first motor? The third thing is this; Church attire (meaning Surplices) with vs liuely resembleth, the glory of Saints in heauen; for it sueteth fitly, saith M. Hooker, with that lightsoim affection of ioy, wherein God delighteth, when his saints praise him; and so liuely resembleth the glory of the saints in heauē, together with the beauty wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appeare, for men, in the presence of God as Angels, if they were left to their owne choise, & would chuse any, could not easily deuise a garment of more decencie for such a seruice. Now whosoever considereth that, the Angels are said to come out of the Temple, clothed in pure & bright linnē, & that the Angel at Christs sepulchre,

Booke 5. pag.
61.
Psal. 149.

Reuel. 19. 6.

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state clothed in a long white garment, & those Angels that appeared at Christs ascension, in white apparel, and that white is the colour of brightnes, & brightnes an adiunct of the glorie of Saints, will neither deride nor mislike this speech, that Church attire with vs, lively resembleth the glory of Saints in heauen. The fourth thing is this: Dayly bruises spirituall promotions vs to take by often falling. Here you aske very sillily, what be the bruises & falles that spirituall promotions ordained by Christ do or can take? M. Hooker weighing the manifold impedimēts, which hinder the vsuall consultation of providing able preachers in euery parish, to instruct the people; allegeth the multitude of parishes; the paucity of Schooles; the manifold discouragements, which are offered to mens inclinations, that way; the penury of the Ecclesiastical estate; the irreuerable losse of so many liuings of principall value, cleane taken away from the Church long since, by being appropriated; the daily bruises } spirituall promotions vs to take by often falling; the want of something in certaine statutes, which concerne the state of the Church; the too great facility of many Bishops; the stony hardnes of too many patrons harts, not touched with any feeling in this case: who is there now that considereth this discourse, but seeth easily, the proprietie of his speech, & without an interpreter the truth of it? that euen some of the best of our spirituall preferments haue receiued great bruises by often falling; where the fault hath bin, that they haue light so hard, some men know, though you & I do not. And I hartily wish, for the good of the Church, that you were able to proue, that he had spoken false in this; to the intent that our reuerend Fathers, the Bishops might bee more beneficiall to the inferior Clergie; more bountifull in hospitality; more honourable in their attendance; more able in their payments to their prince; more forward in the memorable works of deuotion; building of hospitalls, colledges, and such like; which no doubt, some yet do out of their puerity. And last of all, more conueniently provided for the auoyding of such bale meanes, as are a hindrance of reli-

to the Letter.
pag. 37, lin. 2.

Lib. 5 Pag. 71

religion, a wrong to the Church and a dishonour to their profession. The next thing is this; multiplied petitions of worldly things, a kind of heauenly fraud, to take the soules of men, as with certaine baites. Where M. Hooker answering those, who dislike in our prayers the multiplied petitions, for earthly things saith; it must be considered, that the greatest part of the world, are they, which be furthest off from perfection; such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, then by spirituall capacity to apprehend things aboue sense, which tend to their happines in the world to come, are in that respect more apt to apply their minds, euen with harty affection and zeale, at the least, vnto those branches of publike prayer, wherein their own particular is moued; and by this meanes, there stealeth vpon them a double benefit. First, because that good affection, which things of smaller account haue once set on worke, is by so much the more easily raised higher: & Secondly, in that the very custome of seeking so particular aide, and releefe, at the hands of God, doth by a seeret contradiction, withdraw them fro indeuoring to help theselues, by those wicked shifts which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whose assistance their prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer, haue therefore besides their direct vse, a seruice whereby the Church vnder hand, through a kind of heauenly fraud, taketh therewith, the soules of men, as with certaine baites. I know not in this point what could haue bin spoken, either more soundly, more plainly, or more agreeable to this purpose. And therefore it must needes be in you, either delicacie, or ignorance to account this a *Theorem* of speculative doctrine; the very metaphor of baytes, being not vnfitly applyed, euen by orators, to the best things: The next is these words: In Baptisme God doth bestow presently remission of sins, and the Holy ghost, binding also himselfe to ad in pro- cess of time, what grace soeuer shall be further necessary for the attainment of euerlasting life. Heere you aske

Hook. lib. 5. pag.
254. 155.

of Maister Hooker, what warrant he hath of present grace in the very work wrought of baptism: where by the way you cunningly (with a truth of his) mingle an error of your owne; for who euer doubted but that baptism doth bestow the remission of sins, and yet not this, as we haue often told you, for the very work wrought of baptism. The next in these wordes: The signe of the Crosse, as we vse it, is in some sort a meane to work our preservation, from reproch, and Christs marke. It seemes, that this speech hath made you to forget that ciuill respect, which had bin fit to one whome worthily you ought to esteeme, as reuerend; for very rudely you say, when, where, or how, did Christ tell thee, that the signe of the Crosse (as we vse it) is the marke of Christ, and preserveth frō reproch? Be not caried more violently then the cause requireth: for Maister Hooker doth not affirme, but saith, shall I say? and addeth, surely the minde which as yet hath not hardned it selfe in sinne, is seldome prouoked thereunto, in any grosse and getuous manner, but natures secret suggestio obiecteth against it, ignominy as a bar, which conceit being entred into that pallace of mans fancy, the gates whereof haue imprinted in the that holy signe, which bringeth forthwith to mind whatsoeuer Christ hath wrought, and we vowed against sinne; it cometh hereby to passe, that Christian men, neuer want a most effectuell, though a silent teacher, to auoid whatsoeuer may deservedly procure shame. Let vs not thinke it superfluous; that Christ hath his marke applied vnto that part, where bashfulness appeareth; in token, that they which are Christians, should at no time be ashamed of his ignominie. The last words misliked by you, in this article are these. Assuredly who soeuer doth wel obserue how much al inferior things depend vpon the orderly courses and motions of these greater orbs, will hardly iudge it meet, or good, that the Angels assisting them, should be deuied to betake themselves vnto other stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had change also else where,

Hook. lib. 5. pag. 160.

Hook. lib. 5. pag. 161

as long as their absence from beneath, might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending, their roomes above, should become vacant. Heere wholly mistaking Maister *Hacker*, you run into a strange discourse of Angels, of their attendance vpon the elect, and aske where it is reuealed that they attend vpon celestiall orbes, and whether it be not sinne, to leaue their naturall charge; and here you aske, whether he meane not the Angels that sel: These, and such like, are those collections which your iudgement hath gathered, wholly mistaking the scope of this excellent speech. For he sheweth here that there may be iust reasons of non-residence, in Vniuersities, in Bishopps houses, and last of all for their imployment in the families of noble men, or in princes courts. For assuredly whosoever doth well obserue, how much all inferiour things, depend vpon the orderly courses, and motions of those greater orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good, that the Angels assisting them, should be driven to betake themselues, vnto other stations; although by nature, they were not tyed, where now they are, but had charge also else where; as long as their absence from beneath, might but tolerably be supplied, and by descending, the roomes above, should become vacante. Who vnderstandeth not now, that by orbes are ment those great persons, which by their motion do carrye inferiours with them? And by Angels assisting them, are ment those graue diuines, which are by their wisdom, holinesse, and direction, to moderate their motion? Why then, being but a parable, or an allegorie, run you to examination of orbes, of Angels, of motion; and yet these are things so well knowne, in the Philosophers schooles, as that Maister *Hacker*, had no reason to feare, to take a similitude from them, without being called to examination of the truth of the thing it selfe. And this may suffice, for a moderate answer, to those things which in this article are tearmed by you speculative doctrine. Only I must ad this, which Maister *Hacker* noteth in a troublesome aduersary,

adversary, with whom he had to deale, that in this article, as often in this letter besides, there are two faults predominant, which would tyre out any, which should answer to every poynt, severally; first vnapt speaking of schoole controuersies: & secondly, a very vntoward reciting of *M. Hookers* words, that as he which should promise to draw a mans countenance, and did indeed expresse the parts, at least the most of them truly, but peruerely place them, could not represent a more offensive visage, then a mans owne would be to himselfe; so haue you dealt with *M. Hooker*, where your misplacing of those words, which he hath vttered, hath framed a picture, which as you direct men to looke at it, little differeth from the shape of an ugly monster: for answer whereunto, this labour is sufficient; wherein I haue set downe, both his words, and meaning, in such sort, that where your accusation doth depraue the one, or that either you misinterpret, or without iust cause, mislike the other; it will appeare so plainly, that to the indifferent reader, I shall not neede to ad any further answer: for any man may see, that you haue iudged his words, as they doe colours, which looke vpon them with Greene spectacles, and thinke that which they see is Greene, when indeede that is Greene whereby they see. The best remedy will be to vse charity, where Iudgment wanteth.

ARTICLE XIX

Of Caluine and the reformed Churches.

WHere the persons of particular men, is the subject of our discourse, we cannot well either be too short, or too charitable; for of the best if we speake much, something will be wrested to a hard construction, if vncharitable we shal seeme to follow the practise of those, which haue no other skill, to overthrow a generall cause, but

by wounding of some particular men. And howsoever that cause must needs be weake, which either hath his beginning, or his greatest strength, from one private man; yet doubtles in common reason it is no small policie, to blemish a truth, by detracting frō the sincerity and religion of such, as are the principal defenders of it. How much this part of the world hath cause to esteeme of *Luther*, and *Calvin*, there is no man of any learning that can be ignorant; in which respect, notwithstanding, by some mē, a threefold wrong is don vnto our Church. First, to make the authors of that religion amongst vs, which by many hūdreth yeeres, was far more ancient then they both were: Secondly, to lay the infirmities that were in the (as being mē, it were too great ignorance & flattery, to acquite them frō al imperfections in that kind) euen vpon the religion itself, which had no more affinity with the faults that were in them, then they had, with the framing of that religion, which proceeded first from no weaker author then God himselfe. The last, is y wrong, which our church hath euen frō those, who vndoubtedly would seem in their zealous affection, exceedingly to fauour both. The ground of which wrong proceedeth only from hence, that those persons, & y gouernment, which place, time and other necessities, caused them to frame, ought without exception, to be an absolute patterne to al the Churches that were round about them: In so much, that that gouernment, which was at the first so weake, that without the iustice of their approbation, so were not subiect vnto it themselves, it had not brought others vnder subiection, began now to challenge an vniuersal obedience, and enter into open conflict, with the most Churches of *Europe*; but especially with those, which in desperate extremity had bin relieuers of it. Thus, because some few, who neither in quality nor place were much distant from *Geneua*, in opinion of *Maister Calvin*, were content to follow their forme of gouernment, others not weighing the riches of that mercy which had made their own Church too great and honorable, to be framed

framed to so narrow & poore ascending, began shewingly to repine, that presently all things were turned in the pattern of those Churches, which in their opinions were most reformed. So that whatsoever any man spake or wrote, in disallowance of that, to be our modell to be framed by, or truly so the laying open of those conflicts, (conquered with great policy) which Maister Caluist had in the first establishing of that government, (all) sounded harshly in the eares of these men, and was plainly construed to be a direct disgracing of Maister Caluist, which could be nothing else (as you say) but a discovery of a popish and vnfound affection. Where before I answered to this, I must first tell them, that if they should with the like importunity seek to frame vs to the example of the primitive church, in respect of gouernment, we should tell them that Israel are not bound to the same things in Canaan, that they were in the desert; nor that those reuerend Fathers the Bishops, who succeed in that apostolick charge, are neither their maintenance and state, (though the authority be all one) to be framed to that pouerty which was the portion of those, who planted, and gouerned the first Churches. This being then no such necessity, but that the Church may lawfully vse, even those benefits wherewith God hath blessed her, setting her feet in a large rounge, why should men without cause recall her back againe, to her daies of mourning, or feeding her, with the bread of teares, coupe her vp in those narrow limites of subiection, and want, seeing God in his mercy hath provided for her now, the same gouernment to be administred, in a richer manner? Now how far all men are bounde to speake of those, whom they reuerence and loue, and yet in some cases do thinke not safe to follow, this is that error that hath deceived many. For from hence, the priuate oversights of those (who, how famous and excellent soeuer, were but men) haue growne, by the violence of some of their followers, to be listily maintained, as vn doubted trutthes, as though there were no difference betwixt being a man not alwaies erring,

*Aliud est vir-
tutem habere,
aliud nihil nisi
virtutem habere.
Ber.*

*Calvin was
a By. in France*

He preached
yearly 186. ser-
mons, he read
186. lectures e-
very year.

erring, and not erring at all: The one is a worthy happines
graunted to some few; the other a speciall priuiledge not
permitted to any, meeely man, no nor to Maister *Calvin*
himselfe. This serueth to teach vs, that for those things
which we doe and belecue, wee haue better warrant
then mans question; and that no man, how excellent so-
euer, (except Christ) may, or ought precisely, to be fol-
lowed in all that he doth. For thus while we ad vnto men
that honor, a great part whereof peraduenture they de-
serue, we detract frō that truth, which we make no where
to be found, but in those, who inseparably are followers of
their steps. That Maister *Calvin* (who is made by you, the
vnpleasing subiect of this article) was, (as Maister *Hooker*
termeth him) the wisest man incomparably, that euer the
French Church did intioy, since the hower it intioyed him;
I thinke there is no man of any reading, that much doub-
teth: and surely for learning, and vnwearied paines in his
calling, men of best iudgement and vnderstanding,
would be ready enough, to giue him that which belon-
ged vnto him, if some priuate men out of their loue and
zeale, did not too greatly ouerlode him with it: For doubt-
lesse, we should be iniurious to vertue it selfe, if we did
derogate from them, whom their industry hath made
great. Two things there are of principall moment, which
haue deseruedly procured him honor throughout all the
world; the one his exceeding paines in composing the In-
stitution of Christian religion, from which most haue glea-
ned, that haue written since; the other his no lesse indu-
strious trauailes, in the exposition of holy scripture; in
which two things, whosoeuer they were, that after him
bestowed their labour, he gained the aduantage of pre-
iudice against them, if they gainsaide; and of glory aboue
them, if they consented. Now out of this (so hardly are
we taught to keepe a meane) proceeded this intollerable
fault, that many were desirous, in an opinion of his worth,
that all Churches together with his learning, shoulde
swallow vp, without making choice, whosoeuer other
imper-

Imperfections remained in him. So that of what account *Peter Lombard* was in the church of Rome (whom for singular reuerence they called the Maister of the Sentences) of the same, and more, amongst the Preachers of reformed Churches, Maister *Caluin* was : And they onely were iudged the perfectest diuines, which were skilfullest in *Caluins* writings. His bookes almost were reputed the very Canon for controuersies to be iudged by. To this extremity, and far greater, the partiall affection of loue carried a number of wise men, who from approbation growing to strong praises; frō praises, to admiration; frō admiration, to a tyrannous opinion ; that it was wholly vnlawfull, in any thing to dissent from him. So that now, it was almost as necessarie to dispraise him, as to commend him; because what with discretion, the Church before might haue vsed with much profit, she scarce now could admit, without a generall suspension, thorough all Christendome, that we durst not in any thing dissent from him. And doubtlesse, in some weake minds, that which at first was but praise, in the end was not many steps short of idolatrie, So that the practise of *Ezechiell*, in breaking to peeces that serpent of brasse, wherunto the children of Israel had burnt incense, was not altogether vnfit to be vsed in this case. For in kingdomes it is high time, either to cut off, or disgrace those, whom the multitude are willing to pusse vp; when (neglecting their owne ruine) they are content to burie the happinesse of their country, in the ashes of anothers greatnesse. Thus God both in mercie and indgement (in mercie to them that die, and in iudgement to those that are left behind) doth before the fulnesse of yeares, cut off those men, whom other mens erring affections haue aduanced too high, conveying that from the presence of vntable minde, whereunto desert and weakenesse, whilest it was in our sight, gaue strength that it could bewitch. This oftentimes I confesse hath bene my private contemplation, when I haue seene Parents vntimely, to loose their children,

1. King. 18.

In whom they tooke most pride; Churches, those persons
of greatest ornament; the common wealth those, that were
worthiest of all honor; as if God had bin jealous, that these
would haue stolne our honor, & loue from him. And there-
fore wife was the answer of that mother, who in one day
losing both her husband, & her two sonnes, said, I know
O Lord, what thou seekest, my whole loue: Which she
thought peraduenture might haue beene lesse, if those
things had bin left vnto her, which she found her selfe apt
for to loue too much. And therefore as vertuous men haue
voluntarily disclosed their owne infirmities (scratching as
it were the face of beautie) least others should too much
admire them; so I perswade my selfe, that Maister Caluin,
if he now liued, would much worse esteeme of your fond
commendation, then of those speeches, which M. Hooker
out of judgement, doth write of him. He was doubtlesse,
as Bishop Jewel calleth him, a reuerend Father, and a wor-
thy ornament of Gods Church; and surely they do much
amisse, who haue sought by vniust slaunders against him
(a thing too vsuall) to derogate from that truth, whose
strength was not builded vpon mans weaknesse. This
therefore being the practise of our aduersaries, you aske
M. Hooker, what moued him to make choise of that wor-
thy pillar of the Church aboue all other, to traduce him,
and to make him a spectacle before all Christians? Giue
me leaue to answer you for him, who vndoubtedly would
haue giuen a farre better answer for himselfe, if he had li-
ued; There is not one word that soundeth in that whole
discourse, to any other end, towards Maister Caluin, but
to shew how his great wisdom, wrought vpon their
weaknesse; his knowledge vpon their ignorance; his gra-
uitie vpon their inconstancy; his zeale vpon their disor-
ders; only to establish that gouernement, which howsoe-
uer not necessary for other places, was fit enough perad-
uenture for that town. Neither need the present inhabi-
tants thereof, take it in euill part, that the faultinesse of
their people heretofore, was by Maister Hooker so farre
 forth

Defence of the
 Apol. 2. part.
 pag. 149.
Balsacus.

forth laid open, seeing he saith no more, then their owne learned guides, and pastors haue thought necessarie to discover vnto the world. But what, say you, hath Master *Caluin* done against our Church, that he should be singled out, as an aduersarie? Surely that harme (though against his will) which neuer will bee soundly cured, so long as our Church hath any in it to spurne at the reuerend authority of Bishops. For howsoeuer those Ecclesiasticall lawes, established in Geneva (wherein notwithstanding are some strange things) might be fit enough to passe for statutes, for the gouernement of a priuate Colledge, or peradventure some small Vniuersity; yet to make them a rule, for so great, so rich, so learned a kingdome as this is, must needs be a vaine desire of noueltie, idly to attempt; and a thing in nature, vnpossible to performe. And therefore hee cannot bee free, as an occasion, though no cause of all those troubles, which haue disquieted our Church for these many yeares. But it may bee *M. Hooker* spake not thus against *M. Caluin* of himselfe, but perswaded either by our aduersaries, in whose mouth, he is an invincible champion, or incited vnto it, by some of the Reuerend Fathers of our Church; and therefore you desire him to resolute you in that point. Can it possibly be, that you should thinke him a man of so great simplicitie, either to be moued to attempt it, by the perswasion of others, or hauing attempted it, that he must needs disclose it? are all those flatterings of the Bishops; that alleging of their authorities, ended in this, to accuse them as Authors of doing that, which your conscience maketh you accuse to be euill done? Could you perswade your selfe, that those reuerend Fathers, whose authorities you alledge in the praise of *Caluin*, would be drawne to substitute another, to dispraise him whom themselves commended? Is it not a thing differing from sense? void of reason? contrary to religion? And if that be a fault that *M. Hooker* is commended by our aduersaries, in no construction, it can be concluded to bee his fault. This per-

12. of Nouem-

ber. 1517

13. Nouemb.

1161.

19. Feb. 1560.

adventure

adventure may commend them, who are ready to approve learning, iudgement, and moderation, even in those who are adversaries, but no way can touch those, whom they thus commend: Vnlesse wee make the conclusion to light heavily vpon the best, both for place, wisdom, and learning that our Church hath. Haue not in all ages, the Heathen thus commended the Christians? and did not *Libanius*, thus thinke *Gregorius* most worthy to succeed him, if he had not been a Christian? Can we in reason denie, *Julian* his learning, because an Apottata? or *Bellarmino*, and others, because they haue written against vs? No, we willingly giue the that due, that belongs vnto them, and hold it not vnmeet, to receiue euen from their mouthes, without suspicion of trechery; that commendations which are but the recompence of a iust desert. The termes of hostility are too violent, and vnreasonable, which denie vs thus far to communicate with our verie enemies. But, you say, this was pride in *M. Hooker*, to contemne all those of our owne Church, as too weake to encounter with him; and therefore he must raise Maister *Caluin* out of his sweet bed of rest, to contend against him. And here you yncharitably make a comparison betwixt *Goliath* and Maister *Hooker*; only you say vnlike in this, that *Goliath* was content to challenge one liuing and present in the army, demanded, but chose not; sought for one, that was aliue, and vaunted not ouer the dead; in all which respects by your censure, Maister *Hooker* is more presumptuous. To speake the least which is fit to be answered in this place, surely, hee which will take vpon him to defend that there is no oversight in this accusation, must beware lest by such defences, he leaue not an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more stiffe to maintaine what he hath spoken, then carefull to speake nothing, but that which iustly may be maintained; that he hath not shunned to encounter those, euen the best of that faction in our land, your selues can witness: that he nameth *M. Caluin*, onely to this end, to shew the authour, of that Discipline, which

which he was to handle, you must needs confesse; that he rather reprooued another state, then discovered the violent and vncharitable proceedings; to establish it at home; it was his wisdom: for we know that the age present is corrected, when the age past is justly rebuked for the same fault. And there cannot be a better meanes to cure our disorder at home, then by discouering the effects that it hath wrought abroade. Now, that which principally discouereth that you are not such, as in the title of this letter; you terme your selues, is, that you make not *Caluinus*, but Christ himselfe the author of this discipline; who, as you say, raised vp diuers men, in diuers places, as *Ortelampadius*, *Swinglius*, *Sayebius*, *Philip*, *Bucer*, *Copio*, and *Miconius*; and taught them, by the same spirit, out of the same holy scripture, the same doctrine, and commandement of truth and righteousness. In this you bewray what you are; and how truly you fauour our present state, in giuing so honorable testimony of that Church gouernment, which hath bin so much oppugned by the Fathers of our Church: Nay so much disliked by the *Quere* herself, as appeareth by her most eloquent speech against those reformers. And I must needs tell you, that those who haue taken vpon them the defence thereof, are only able to confirme it, not by places of scripture, but by poore and marueilous sleight coniectures, collected fro them. I need not giue instance in any one sentence so alledged: for that I thinke the instance of any alledged otherwise not easly to be giuen. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as you speake of, should be taught by Christ and his Apostles in the word of God, and no Church euer hath found it out nor receiued it till this present time: contrariwise, the gouernment, against which you bend your selues, to be obserued euery where, through all generations, and ages of the Christian world, no Church euer perceiuing the word of God, to be against it. Finde but one Church (one is not much) vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath bin ordered, by your discipline, or

*Actus proles cor-
rigitur dum pro-
terita suis meri-
tis obligatur.*
Gregor.

In the parlia-
ment a 9. mar-
tii. 1585. the
Q. oration.

T.C. lib. I. p. 97

Eccles. 10. 1.

hath not bin ordered by ours, that is to say, by Episcopall regment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conuerfant. But you complaine of it, as an iniurie, that men should be willed to seeke for examples, and patterns of gouernment in any of those times, that haue bin before: It is to small purpose, that some daughter Churches haue learned to speake their mothers dialect. In one word to conclude this article, such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them wee are not perswaded willingly, that any thing should be amisse. The reason wherof is, that as dead flies putresie the ointment of the apothecary, so a little folly, him that is in estimation for wisdom. This in every profession hath too much authorized, the iudgments of a few: this with Germans hath caused *Luther*, and with many other Churches *Caluin*, to preuaile in all things. But thou O Lord, art only holy, thou only art iust, who permittest the worthiest vessels of thy glory, to be in some things blemished, with the staine of humane frailty, euen for this cause, least we should esteem of any man, about that which bechooueth.

ARTICLE XX.

Of Schoolemen, Philosophie, and Popery.



Philosophie telleth vs (if it be lawfull for me to vse so much Philosophie) that naturall motions in the end are swifter, but violent are more slowe; and therefore heavy things, the lower they descend, doe moue faster; and by so much also they moue slower, by how much they ascend higher. It seemeth that the accusations in this letter were such, as had their first motion, rather from the violence of some affection, then from any naturall inclination to vnderstand the truth. For surely, though I take not vpon me to censure any man (being my selfe clothed with so many wants)

wants; yet in my weake opinion, those, that would desire
a resolution of such things, as overthrow the foundation
of the Church amongst vs; which in your letter you pro-
fesse, should hardly esteeme, the right vse of Philosophers
and schoole learning, to be an accusation of that kind. So
that whereas, at the first your objections seemed to moue
with a greater strength, now in the end, they growe weake
like the stroke of a man that is halfe tyed. But I haue final
reason to complaine of this, which is mine owne aduan-
tage: for without the amour of other learning, only in
the strength of reason, I durst incounter a stronger man
then my selfe, in this, wherein you accuse Maister Hooker;
that the right vse of Schoolemen, and Philosophers, is no
hindrance, or disgrace to true diuinity. And therefore,
whereas you charge him, that in all his discourse for
the most part *Aristotels* and the ingenious Schoolemen, In the letter
almost in all poynts haue some finger; and that reason is
highly set vp against holy Scripture, and such like: I ve-
rely perswade my selfe, that herein he hath committed no
vnlawfull thing. For those schoole employments, are ac-
knowledged by graue and wise men, not vnprofitable to
haue bin invented; the most approued for learning and
iudgment doe vse them without blame; the vse of them,
hath bin well liked, by those that haue written in this kind;
the quality of the readers of his bookes, though not of the
most, yet of those whom the matter concerned most, was
such, as he could not but thinke them of capacity very
sufficient, to conceiue harder learning then he hath vsed
any; the cause he had in hand, did in my opinion necessa-
rily require those schoolemen and philosophers that he
hath vsed for whose cause is strangely mistaken, for want
of distinctions, what other way was there for him, but by
distinctions to lay it open? That so it might appeare vnto
all men whether it were consonant to truth or no; and al-
though you and I peraduenture, being vsed to a more fa-
miliar, and easie learning, thinke it vnncete, to adme, ap-
prooue, or frequent the schooles; yet our opinions are
no

no Canons for Maister *Hooker*: And although you being troubled in minde, doe thinke that his writings, seeme like fetters, and manacles; yet no doubt he hath met both with readers and hearers, more calmelly affected; which haue iudged otherwise. But it is a strange presumption in my opinion, for priuate men, such as professe themselves to be but common Christians, (which your writings, besides your owne confession, doe make manifest) to prescribe a forme, either of writing or teaching, so plaine and familiar, or rather indeed so empty, and shallow, that no man may doubt, how vnlearned soeuer, to giue his censure. Must all knowledge be humbled so low, that it must stoop to the capacity of the meanest reader? But the Fathers, say you, haue misliked it. Indeed I confesse, there is an ouermuch vse, which is euill, in all things, where there is not an absolute necessity. Besides things comparatively spoken, in regard of true vnderstanding of the scriptures, is no rule for warrant that they are to be misliked simply. For *Stapleton* himselfe confesseth, in his cautions of expounding the scripture, that the Schoolemen haue not a certaine, and infallible authority of interpreting; which as to maintaine must needs be great simplicity, so to dislike all vse of them is intolerable vnthankfulnesse. But in this accusation, it is not apparant what you meane; whe you alledge out of *Luther*, that schoole diuinity, hath banished from vs, the true and sincere diuinity. If this were the direct iudgement of *Luther*, to condemne all schoole diuinity; yet it is a strange oppositiō to alledge the sentence of one man, against the practise, and authorities of the best Fathers: Neither doe we vnderstand which it is (the olde or the new) that so much offends you; by old, we meane that Scholasticall kinde of expounding, which the most eloquent Fathers lately comen from the schooles of Rhetoricians, and Philosophers, haue brought with them, to the interpreting of holy Scriptures; that thus they might be able to teach, to delight, to perswade; a matter sitting al, but not easie for any, that is not excellently

In your letter
pag. 35. lin. 29.

Cramer,
Luther.

Lib. 10. cap. 11.

lently furnished with humane learning. In this sense *Beda* ^{in lib. de art.} calleth *Prudentius* the most noble Schooleman of the ^{met. nobilissim.} Spaniards, whom it is like in the severitie of your judgment, you would have dispraised; and *Gennadius* in the ^{Hippocran.} Catalogue of famous writers, reckoneth y^e *Musam*, *In-*
lium, *Eucherius*, and divers others, amongst the Schoole-
men; that is, amongst the chiefe professors of Schoole-
eloquence. Saint *Hierome* affirmeth of himselfe, that ^{In Con. Epist.} manie things in Divinitie, he handled with Schoole or-
namment; and of Saint *Paul* he saith, that when he pre-
ached at Athens, vpon occasion of the inscription of the
Altar to the vnknowne God, he handled it with a schola-
sticall kind of elegancie. Is this then that which so much
offends you? Was it an ornament in these Fathers, and
many others, and is it a blemish in *M. Hooker*? But per-
adventure it is the new and later kind of Schoole inter-
preting that you mislike; whose methode is Philoso-
phicall disputing, made of Aristotelian learning; this
sprang vp about some foure hundreth and odde yeares
past, in the time of *Lotharius* the second, Emperour of ^{Ann. 1130.} Rome, who recouering out of darkenesse the Roman
lawes, caused them publikely to bee read, and to be ex-
pounded by diuers Writers; by this meanes diuinitie be-
gan to waxe cold, vntill by imitation of these men, cer-
taine deuout Monkes, and others, vndertooke the like
in expounding the holy Scripture; by which meanes e-
uen vntill this day, there remaineth in the Schooles ^{Sext. Sin. bibi.} tenne orders of their vsuall expounding; by Concor-
^{Sanct. lib. 3.} dance, Historie, Possill, Question, Lecture, Compen-
^{pag. 180.} dium, or Abridgement, Sermon, Meeter, Meditation,
all which no doubt of sit in your opinion, are esteemed vn-
lawfull and vnprofitable: Nowe, many that were excel-
lent in this kind, the Church both knoweth how to vse
with great profit, and in recompence of their labour,
hath giuen them titles, with much honour. Thus
Alexander Hales, who made his Summe, that excel-
lent worke, by commaundement of *Innocentius* the

Fem. 112.

fourth was called the fountaine of life; because of that lively knowledge, that flowed from him: he was Maister to *Bonaventure*, a scholer not inferiour to himselfe, of whom he was wont to say, that in *Bonaventure* he thought *Adam* sinned not; meaning, for that illumination, which was in him (& doubles there was much in him) as though he had not beene darkened by the fall of *Adam*; and therefore the Church called him the *Seraphicall* Doctor. To these *Aquinas* was not inferiour, who came so neere vnto Saint *Austin*, that some thought, hee had all his works by heart, and by a common proverbe it was spoken, that the soule of Saint *Austin* dwelt in *Aquinas*; in whom above all the rest, foure contrarieties were said to excell; abundance, breuitie, facilitie, security: In respect whereof, hee gained the title to be called *Angelicall*. Now for any man to follow the steps of these, though treading sure, as having more light, can any man in reason account it to be a fault? Is there no other matter of reproofe in Maister *Hoo- kers* writings, but that vertues must bee faults? But hee seeketh to proue matters of diuinity with the strength of reason: Indeed this is a great fault, which if many had not beene afraid to commit, the world had not beene filled with so many idle, and vnreasonable discourses. But so it is, that through an ignorant zeale of honouring the scriptures, the name of the light of nature, is made hateful with men; the starre of reason, and learning, & all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, then as if it were an vn lucky Comet, or as if God had so accursed it, that it should neuer shine, or giue light in things, concerning our duty, any way toward him; but be esteemed as that starre, in the Revelation called worm- wood; Which being fallen from heauen, maketh rivers, & waters, in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them, die thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire, as the ought, the power & authority of the word of God, if in things diuine, they should attribute any force to mans reason; for which cause they neuer vse rea-

Moritur et al.
48. an. Dom.
1274.

Reuel. 8. 10.

son

Ob. 1.

1. Cor. 2. 14,

402

ROM. I. 2.

AR.25.19

At. 26.24

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Ob. 3.

Col. 2, 8.

Sol.

440

D-117

4. 60. 5. 1

10

100

- with that true and sincere Philosophie, which doth teach against that deceitfull, and vaine which spoileth. But haue not the greatest troulbers of the Church bin the greatest admirers of humane reason? Hath their deep & profound skil in secular learning made the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? Indeed many great philosophers haue bin very vnbound in beleefe, & yet many found in beleef haue bin great Philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort vnto loue of christian faith? nor Christian faith, the other sort out of loue with secular knowledg. The harme that heretikes did, was to such, as by their weakenes were not able to discern betweene sound, and deceitfull reasoning, and the remedie against it was euer, the skill of the ancient Fathers, to discover it. In so much that *Crescensius* the heretike complained greatly of Saint *Austin*, as you do of Maister *Hooker*, for being too full of logically subtilties. But the word of God in it selfe is absolute, exact, and perfect, and therefore needlesse to adde any humane or schoole learning; for those weapons are like the armour of *Saul*, rather cumbersome then needfull; and with these hath Maister *Hooker* filled his writings. I answer, there is in the World no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is seen, but wee iustly account it precious: yea that principall truth, in comparison whereof, all other truth is vile, may receiue from it, some kind of light; whether it be: that Egyptian, and Chaldean wisdom, mathematicall, where with *Moses* and *Daniel* were furnished; or that naturall, morall, and ciuill wisdom, wherein *Salomon* excelled all men; or that rationall, and oratoriall wisdom of the Grecians, which the Apostle Saint *Paul* brought from Tharsus; or that Iudaicall which he learned in Ierusalem, sitting at the feete of *Gamaliel*; to detract from the dignity thereof were to iniure, euen God himselfe; who being that light which none can approach vnto, hath sent out these lights, whereof we are capable, as so many sparkles, resembling the bright fountain from which they rise. And there.

Ob. 3.

Sol.

Ob. 4.

Sol.

A^c. 7. 22.

Dan. 1. 17.

1. King. 4. 29.

30.

A^c. 12. 3.

therefore vnto the word of God, being in respect of that end wherunto God ordeined it, perfect, exact, and absolute, we doe not adde any thing, as a supplement of any maim, or defect therein; but as a necessary instrument, without which wee coulde not reape by the scriptures perfection, that fruite, and benefit, which it yeeldeth. In respect of al which places alledged, it must needs seem strange, that any for the vse of schoole diuinity, and humane learning, should incur that hard suspicion, which you seeke to fasten vpon M. *Hooker*, namely, that he is a priuie & subtil enemie, to the whole state of our Church; that he would haue men to deeme her Maiestie to haue done ill, in abolishing the Romish religion; that he would

In your letter.
pag. 43.

be glad, to see the back-slyding of all reformed Churches; or that he meanes, to bring in a confusion of all things; a tolleration of all religions; these and such like, are the heauie conclusions, that follow the vse of schoolmen, and secular learning; and the least of those euils, which are likely in your opinion, to be deriued into the heart of our Church and common wealth, from that dangerous poyson which is contained in Maister *Hookers* writings. Surely it is great pitie, that al men should chunke what they list, or speake openly what they think; but doubtlesse it did little moue him, when you say that which a greater then you certainly wil gaintay. His words in this cause haue seemed to you, as an arrow sticking in a thigh of flesh, and your own as a child, whereof you must needes be deliuered by another; but deliberation would haue giuen peraduenture, more ripenes, which now by haste, hath, as a thing borne out of time, beene small ioye to you that begat it. Therefore I wil conclude, with the speech of the son of *Sirach*: He that applieth his minde to the law of the most high, Eccle. 39. 1. 2. 3. keepeth the sayings of famous men, & entrench in also into the secrets of darke sentences: he seeketh out the mystery of graue sentences, and exerciseth himselfe in dark parabes; though he be dead he shall leaue a greater fame, then a thousand: Doubtles this is verified in him, of whom you haue published vnto the world so hard a censure.

verse. 11

ARTICLE XXI

The stile and maner of writing.

S it is an honour to performe that which
 is excellent; so it is a vertue to approue
 that which is excellently performed;
 where to be wanting in the first, may be
 slouth, or ignorance, but to be wanting in
 the latter, must needes be malice. Fewe
 there are, or haue beene in any age, which reaping the due
 recompence of their labour, haue done that good, which
 they ought, and haue not receiued that reward which
 they ought not. Wise men haue thought no otherwise,
 but that this common lot, might be their portion; yet the
 feare thereof, could not haue that power ouer all, to make
 them in that respect, wholly & vnprofitably silent: Know-
 ing, that euen that which they suffred for well doing, was
 their honour; and that which they did well, and suffred
 for it, was others shame. This vice, in my opinion, is not
 more visuall with anie, then with vs, who by reason of the
 corrupt quality thereof, haue imposed a silence to a great
 number, who by their writings, doubtlesse, would haue
 bin verie singular ornaments vnto Gods Church: where-
 as strangers of lesse merit, haue a twofold aduantage. The
 one, that we read their writings without preiudice of their
 persons; the other, that with a desire of nouelty, we gree-
 dily deuoure (as we do fashions) whatsoeuer we think to
 be done by strangers; this onely in all things (how excel-
 lent soeuer) being cause enough of dislike, that it is home
 borne; but more iustly of silence, that it is disliked. So that
 when we haue sifted, whatsoeuer is likely to be reprobred,
 euen the last thing to be examined, is the stile it selfe. Thus
 haue you dealt with Maister Hooker, whom as in all other
 things, you haue set vpon the racke; so in this you haue ta-
 ken vpon you far more, then becometh either the modestly,
 or

or the small learning that is usually found in such, as
professe themselves, to be but common Christians. For cer-
tainely to iudge of a stile, is not the least point of learning,
though it be the least known: but peremptorily, to dislike,
which you do, is more then only to iudge. For this, is but
to deliuer a speciall verdict, as we thinke our selves; but
the other is to take vpon vs, exactly to tell what the law
is. Some I haue seene, excellently writing vpon the variety
of stiles; and the best, in my opinion, is one *Pascalius*, who
was like enough to iudge well, because he himselfe wrote
an excellent stile; yet surely there is in no point of lear-
ning, greater varietie of tastes, then there is in this: some
preferre *Salust*, others *Casar*, a third *Seneca*, a fourth *Taci-
tus*; in one word, euery man according to his owne fancy.
This, as it is in stiles, so it is in the seuerall actions of men;
where they are no sooner borne into the world, but Cen-
sure, as a gossip names them. A thing I confesse needfull,
and vsfit to be prohibited, seeing we respe oftentimes;
more benefit by our enemies, then our friends; yet this
sheweth, that the world is vnhappy, where the best offi-
ces are performed by our worst acquaintance. If we come
to Authours, some dislike *Plato*, as *Athenians* did, calling
him confusid; others say, I only esteem *Plato*, who doth to
cunningly weaue knowledge, and vertue together, as if he
said, he were content to giue you knowledge, vpon condi-
tion, that you should be honest. Some compared *Aristotle*
to that fish, whose humour is like iuke; *Linn* he likes not *Sepia* a Cuttle.
Trogus, nor *Tully* *Damast* *homer*; *Lenax* a seruant of *Pompeius*
mislikes; *Salust*; *Afinius* calleth him an affecter; *Quinti-
lian* calleth *Seneca* chalke without sand; *Galigula* disprai-
sed *Linn*, as full of words, and yet negligent in suppressing
the triumphes of *Remulus*; gotten by the victorie of the
Tuscan. Thus *Varro* (without question a mā most learned)
even in the opinion of *S. Augustin*, by one *Quintus Rementius*
Palimius was called a hog. Surely emulation of learning,
and difference, either of opinion, or manners, breeds a dis-
like in schollers. This hath bin, is, and shall be that euill,

whereunto learned men must be subiect in the variety of other mens censures ; nay euen those bookes, which wee translate, because they are excellent, others wish because they are excellent, not to be translated. Surely it is much easier, saith *Dio Cassius*, to reprehend others, then to moderate our selues. Some are of so feeble, and weak stomackes, that they loath bread : nay some are of that inconstant humour, that what they commed now, they dispraise the next day ; and what yester day they dispraised, they commend to day. For in the beginning of your Letter, you call it a sweet sound of M. *Hookers* melodious stile ; and in another place, you confesse that his bookes are very excellently and learnedly penned ; and yet in this Article, your last scruple is, because his bookes are so long and tedious, in a stile not vsuall, and as you thinke, the like hard to bee found. Where it seemes you are desirous to reprehend, if you could but resolue of the maner how. I dare not take vpon mee to censure those, whom you say he is vnlike ; *Craumer, Ridley, Latimer, Jewel, Whitgift, Foxe, Fulke* ; but I perswade my selfe, that whatsoeuer their other vertues were, wherein peraduenture they were more eminent, yet doubtlesse the best of them that now liueth, will acknowledge M. *Hookers* stile to be very excellent. And although it is vnmeet I should compare him with others, whose labours haue beene profitable in another kind ; yet I hope I may say without offence, that as profoundly to iudge, with sound variety of al learning, was comon to him with diuers others ; so to expresse what he conceiued, in the eloquence of a most pure stile, was the felicitie almost of himself alone. That honorable Knight *S. Philip Sidney*, gaue a taste in an argument of recreation ; how well that stile would besit an argument of a grauer subiect ; which it may be is more vnpleasing in the taste of some, because the maner is learned, & the subiect is not agreeing to their humour. Doubtlesse the perfecting of a stile, and especially of our English stile (which in my opinion, refuseth not the purest ornaments of any language) hath many mo helps, then

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then those honorable places of learning, the Vniuersities, can afford. And therefore in those things, which they conceiue (and some of them conceiue much) there are found in the Princes court, diuers most purely eloquent, whom euen the best in the Vniuersities may despaire to imitate. And (if I may speake without offence) I am fully perswaded, that M. *Hasker* stile (if he had had lesse learning) (a strange fault) (for the weight of his learning made it too heavy) had bin incomparably the best that euer was written in our Church. If our English story had been borne to that happinesse, eues to haue beene attired in such rich ornaments, she might worthily haue beene entertained in the best courts that the world hath; but all Countries know our actions haue beene better done then they haue beene told. Of things affected we may giue a reason, but to aske, as you do, a reason of M. *Hasker* for his stile, it is all one, as if you asked him why he knew so much. For doubtlesse out of iudgement he made this choise (in my weak opinion, or strong fancie) simply the best, and (without comparision) imitable to few. Therefore your comparision of the bramble was vaine, which by a shew deceiued you a farre off; for there is much more by a narrow view to be discerned in him, then hee seemeth to promise at the first sight. Three things you desire with all instance. First, to shew what arguments he hath alleaged, which are not to be found in the answer of that reuerend Father vnto M. *Corwight*. To satisfie you in this demand, if there were no difference, yet the consens of their arguments were reason enough, for you to allow M. *Hasker*, seeing you haue giuen your approbation of the works of this most reuerend Father, whose worthines no doubt, can receive little honor from your praise; yet you know, that the whole subject of M. *Hasker* first foure books, is an argument, as full of learning, so directly heretofore, not handled by any, that I know. Secondly, you desire, that if he set forth his other books, which are promised, that he would be more plaine, and sensible. Concerning those three bookes of his, which

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From his own mouth, I am informed that they were finished; I know not in whose hands they are, nor whether the Church shall ever be bettered by so excellent a work; for as the Church might have been happy, if he had lived to have written more; so she were not altogether so much harmed, if she might but enjoy, what he hath written. But for you to prescribe him a stile, as it is an authority unfit to assume vnto your selfe, so it were a request, if he liued impossible to obtaine. For as once the greatest of place for iudgement of law in our land answered a client of his in my hearing, who was desirous to haue him take information of his cause, from another lawyer, that seemed more fully acquainted with it; he wil speake (saith he) wel himselfe, by his own direction; but if I should speake by his information, I should speake but like a foole: so I am sure, howsoeuer you your selfe may write, following your owne stile, yet Master *Hesker* by your direction could hardly attaine the commendations that himselfe had already gained. Lastly, you wish him to be carefull, not to corrupt the English creed, by philosophie or vaine deceit, of Schoolemens new borne diuinity; giue me leaue to exempt you from this fear: for I am fully perswaded, neuer any man liued, who would haue bin lother, to haue bin the author of any new & unwarranted opinion, which might giue but the least shew of contradiction, to the faith which our Church professeth. Things are not to be measured by violence of speech, or vcharitable collections; for who are on Gods side, and who against, our Lord, in his good time, shall reuale. And seeing you doubt of his soundnes so far (y because he nameth the church of Rome a part of the church of christ) (which *M. Saravia*, *Zanchy*, & others do, that you wish him to take heed, that he forget not to giue his lawful Soueraigne, her right, & full due) giue me leaue to set downe his words, & in his words his sound, & feruent affection in this point. *When the ruines of the house of God, (that house which consisteth of religious soules, is most immediately the precious temple of the Holy-ghost) we become*

not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world, so earnestly great, that verie superstition began euen to feel it selfe too far growne; The first that with vs, made way to repaire the decayes thereof, was King Henrie the eight; the son and successor of which famous King, as we know, was Edward the Saint. In whom (for so by the euent we may gather) it pleased God, righteously and iustly, to let England see, what a blessing sin, and iniquity would not suffer her to enjoy; that worke, which she one had begun and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrowne, as if almost it had neuer bin, till such time, as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest, when they are needest to be utterly despaird of, caused in the depth of discomfort, and darknes, a most glorious star to arise, and on her head settled the Crowne, whom he himselfe had kept as a lambe from the slaughter of those bloudie times, that the experience of his goodnesse in his owne deliuerance, might cause her merciful disposition, to take so much the more delights, in saving others, whom the like necessity should presse; the continuance of which mercy towards vs, in the abundance of his fauour to her, we wish may happily continue so long, as the Sunne endureth. Hitherto Maister Hooker. To conclude this small and imperfect worke, whereas you ioyne these bookes of Maister Hooker, with two other which you take to bee bellows to blow the coles of sedition; I perswade my selfe, that the ages which are to come, shall more then the present, esteeme them with high honor: for mine owne part, what I haue don in defence thereof, it is neither from opinion of sufficiencie, who know mine owne strength in this kinde, weaker then many thousands; nor from a desire of contention, which I hold (howsoeuer sometimes needefull) the worst employment of all learning; nor from a willingness to flatter any, a fault (what soeuer my other infirmities are) whereunto I was neuer subiect; nor that I thought those would haue bin wanting, who had, both farre more learning, and greater reason, to vndertake the defence, then my selfe had: Wherefore, if there be any thing, either vnfoundly, or vncharitably set downe (faults, which willingly

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A Booke of
Scotizing and
Geneauizing.

lingly I would be loth to be accused of. I submit my selfe to the Iudgement of the Church, and the courteous admonition of the Christian Reader. But if any man without cause, spurne or thinke himselfe grieued, and finde that contained herein, which with iudgement, and sound learning he is able to confute, and be desirous hereafter to receiue my answer, let him set to his name, that writeth; otherwise, let him thinke, that Libels, personall, and of no moment, are to bee rather punished by authority, then confuted by any mans pen. And

so I will hartily pray that no strife may euer be heard of againe, but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and vnity with most desire.

FINIS.



